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Held in the Years 1742 and 1743.

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DURING

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Together with the Laſt Determination of the Houſe relating to Conteſted ELECTIONS.

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Printed: And ſold by WILLIAM SANDBY at the *Ship* without *Temple-Bar*, and at *York* and *Scarbrough*. 1744.

W. Musgrave.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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THE

THE HISTORY AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE House of Commons, DURING The SECOND SESSION of the THIRD PARLIAMENT of King *GEORGE* II.

AN Order of Council was iſſued on the 27th of *July*, in Purſuance of an Addreſs from the Houſe to his Majeſty, on the 4th of *June*, for putting in Execution the Laws in Being againſt the Exportation of Wool from *Great Britain* and *Ireland* to Foreign Parts: The Means to prevent which had taken up ſo much Time in the Committee of the whole Houſe in the former Seſſion. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. Order of Council againſt exporting Wool.

Some few Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, Inſtructions were ſent from ſeveral Counties, and moſt conſiderable Cities, as *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Edinburgh*, *York*, *Worceſter*,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ceſter, &c. to their reſpective Members: The following from the City of *London* ſeems to have been the Foundation of all the reſt.

The Repreſentation of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, *and* Commons *of the City of* London, *in* Common Council *aſſembled, to* George Heathcote, *Eſq*; *Sir* John Barnard, *Kt.* Daniel Lambert *and* William Calvert, *Eſqrs, their Repreſentatives in Parliament:*

Inſtructions from the City of London to their Members.

'IN the preſent unhappy Conjuncture, when the domeſtic Enemies of theſe Kingdoms are flattering themſelves 'that, by the late aſtoniſhing Example of unpuniſh'd Treachery and Corruption, the Nation muſt be driven to Deſpair, and abandon all Thoughts of any future Efforts for 'the Support and Security of the public Liberty; we the 'Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of 'London, in Common Council aſſembled, think it our indiſpenſible Duty to declare, in this moſt ſolemn Manner, 'that as we are fully ſenſible how advantageouſly this Nation has hitherto been diſtinguiſhed by its Freedom from 'the reſt of Mankind, we will not, by Supineneſs, reſign 'our Claim to ſo invaluable a Bleſſing, but that we will ſtill perſevere, with the ſame uniform and unſhaken Reſolution, 'againſt the Malice of our undiſguiſed Enemies, and the 'Falſhood of our pretended Friends, whoſe ſhameful Union 'and Confederacy againſt their Country, at the ſame Time 'that they ſerve to encreaſe our Apprehenſions, ſhall redouble 'our Attention and Zeal for the Defence and Preſervation of 'all our Conſtitutional Rights. We therefore addreſs ourſelves to you, our worthy Repreſentatives in Parliament, 'and with the moſt grateful Acknowledgements of your 'former meritorious Conduct, take this Occaſion of laying 'our Sentiments before you.

'We cannot but lament that Means have been uſed to defeat our Hopes of a ſpeedy and effectual Reformation; we 'had long ſeen the great Concerns of the Kingdom all perverted to the ſingle Purpoſe of maintaining Power in one 'Hand: With this pernicious Deſign our Wealth has been 'exhauſted, our Trade neglected, our Honour proſtituted, 'and the Independency of Parliament invaded: At length, 'after a continued Struggle of twenty Years, when we had 'Reaſon to expect that the happy Period of our Deliverance 'was at Hand, that each Offender would have receiv'd the 'Chaſtiſement due to his Crimes, and ſuch Regulations 'have been eſtabliſh'd as would have ſecur'd us from the 'like Enormities in Time to come, how great was our Surprize

'prize to find that ſome of thoſe, who under a Maſk of Integrity, and by diſſembling a Zeal for their Country, had long acquir'd the largeſt Share of its Confidence, ſhould, without the leaſt Heſitation, or ſeeming Remorſe, greedily embrace the firſt Occaſion to diſgrace all their former Conduct, and, in Defiance of the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, openly conſpire, with the known Enemies of the Public, to defraud the Nation of that Juſtice and Security which they themſelves had ſo often and ſo peremptorily declar'd was indiſpenſably neceſſary to its Preſervation and Support.

'Amidſt theſe melancholy Conſiderations we have the Satisfaction to find, that the general Cenſure and Indignation have ſo immediately purſued theſe Betrayers of their Truſt, that few have been miſled by their Pretences; and that they ſucceed in the public Hatred (thoſe they have ſcreen'd) though they have not, as yet, ſucceeded to their Power. And we may reaſonably expect a more fortunate Iſſue in the approaching Seſſion, ſince many of thoſe Crimes, which have ſo long excited the juſt Reſentment of the Public, are now inconteſtably evinced to all Mankind, notwithſtanding the various Artifices put in Practice to conceal and protect them: For it cannot now be a Doubt that our Troops, under the extremeſt Diſtreſs in an unhealthy Climate, were defrauded, by colluſive Contracts, of their juſt Pay; that the Power of an Adminiſtration hath been apply'd to the corrupting of Returning Officers, the purchaſing of Votes, and the Subverſion of Charters; and that immenſe Sums of that public Treaſure, which was appropriated to the Civil Government, have been partly ſecreted, and partly diverted to Purpoſes injurious to the Dignity of the Crown, and deſtructive of our happy Conſtitution.

'We therefore moſt earneſtly entreat, that, at this important Criſis, you will not ſuffer yourſelves to be amuſed with diſtant Objects, which of late have been ſo ſpeciouſly dreſs'd up with all the Arts of Fallacy and Deluſion; but, whatever Plea may be offered in Behalf of our Safety Abroad, be perſuaded that Security at Home is the firſt Point which merits your Conſideration; that the gratifying the reaſonable Deſires of the People, who aſk no more than Juſtice, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, can alone give Weight and Succeſs to his Majeſty's Councils and Meaſures, can alone recover the loſt Confidence of our antient Allies, and ſtrike Terror into our moſt powerful Enemies. We therefore apply to you now

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'with all the urgent Solicitations of Men fully convinced 'that their All is at Stake, the Rights and Privileges of 'ourſelves and Poſterity, with every valuable Advantage 'purchaſed for us by the Blood of our Anceſtors, conjuring 'you to poſtpone every other Conſideration, particularly 'the Supplies for the current Service of the enſuing Year; 'till you have renewed the Secret Committee of Enquiry; 'procur'd an effectual Bill to reduce and limit the Number 'of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons; reſtor'd the Frequency of Elections, and reſtrain'd the Abuſe of Power in 'Returning Officers. Yet, after theſe ſalutary Proviſions, 'when you ſhall think fit to grant the Supplies, at the ſame 'Time have ſome Regard to their Application. A Nation burden'd with Taxes, oppreſs'd with Debts, and almoſt exhauſted by one laviſh Adminiſtration, can but ill undergo a freſh Profuſion of its Treaſure in the Parade of numerous Land Armies, and the Hire of Foreign Forces, 'without the Appearance of any Service in the Behalf of 'his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions.

'Theſe Points alone can give Safety to the Kingdom, and 'appeaſe the general Diſcontents; and the vigorous Proſecution of them, in Concurrence with all true Friends of 'the Public, (independent of Party, or of any invidious Diſtinction whatſoever) will inſure to yourſelves the laſting 'Favour and Affection of this great Metropolis.

MAN.

But the following Paragraph in the *Weſtminſter* Inſtructions is too remarkable to be omitted.

And from Weſtminſter;

'We acknowledge his Majeſty's Goodneſs in removing, 'without Application * of Parliament, a Miniſter from that 'Poſt he had ſo long wickedly abuſed and diſgraced; and 'expect it will now be your earneſt Endeavour to oppoſe 'every *Confederacy* that may be form'd either to ſcreen the 'Offender or perpetuate the Offence.

It would be inconſiſtent with the Impartiality hitherto obſerved thro' this whole Work, not to take Notice of an Addreſs from *Briſtol*, which was followed by one of the ſame Import from *Nottingham*.

To the Right Hon. Edward Southwell, *Eſq*; *ſurviving Repreſentative in Parliament for the City of* Briſtol.

Alſo from Briſtol.

'IN the preſent difficult Conjuncture, when the Honour 'of the Crown, the Intereſt of the Kingdom, and the 'Tranquility of *Europe*, demand the Attention of the Legiſlature,

* See Lord Percival's Speech in the Firſt Seſſion, p. 159.

'giſlature, We the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council Men of the City of *Briſtol* in Common Council aſſembled, take the Liberty of addreſſing ourſelves to you, who have the Honour to repreſent this City in Parliament; and we flatter ourſelves you will not be diſpleaſed that we uſe the Freedom on this Occaſion, not unbecoming Perſons ſenſible of the Importance of the preſent Criſis, and concerned for the Welfare of their Country.

'It hath been for more than an Age paſt, the ruling Ambition of a neigbouring State, to render all the other Potentates of *Europe* the meer Creatures of her Power, and Miniſters of her Will: Upon this Syſtem all her Politicks have turn'd; to this Point have all her Councils been directed; with this View ſhe hath been lately kindling the Flame of a general War in *Europe*: And to facilitate this Scheme of Univerſal Monarchy, ſhe has actually invaded a natural and ancient Ally of this Kingdom, in open Violation of the moſt ſolemn Engagements. And tho' with the utmoſt Duty and Gratitude, We acknowledge the Wiſdom, Equity, and Magnanimity of his Majeſty's Councils, and rejoice in the great and glorious Effects of them; yet we cannot reflect on the Dangers which but lately engaged the Attention, and awaken'd the Fears of good Men of every Party in the Kingdom, without a very ſenſible Concern for the future Event of Things; for it will ſtill depend on the Conduct of *Great Britain*, and on the Part his Majeſty may farther be enabled to take in the preſent uncertain State of Things, Whether the Balance of *Europe* ſhall be yet maintain'd? or, in other Words, Whether *Great Britain* ſhall for the future be a free or a dependent Nation?

'Your known Attachment to the Intereſt of your Country, unbiaſſed by perſonal Views, nor moved by popular Clamour, leaves us no Room to doubt, that at this critical Juncture you will ſteadily and uniformly purſue ſuch Meaſures as conduce to the Stability of his Majeſty's Government, the Protection and Advancement of our Trade, and to the Safety, Honour, and laſting Intereſt of the Kingdom; particularly, that you will chearfully concur in granting to his Majeſty early and effectual Supplies for the Service of the enſuing Year. This is a Service the preſent State of Publick Affairs, and the High Truſt you bear, require from you: And did we not preſume, that your own Senſe of the Importance of the Service renders all other Motives unneceſſary, we cou'd in the moſt earneſt

'Manner

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Manner recommend it to you. —— For, without the neceſſary Supplies, *Great Britain* muſt be wholly unactive at a Seaſon, when the utmoſt Prudence, Vigour and Reſolution is neceſſary, to avert the Dangers which threaten her and her Allies: The War with *Spain*, a War undertaken by his Majeſty in Defence of our moſt valuable Rights, and with the concurrent Voice of the whole Kingdom, muſt end to the eternal Reproach of this Nation, without Satisfaction for paſt Injuries, or Security againſt future Inſults: And the Liberties of *Europe* will, we fear, become an eaſy Prey to the boundleſs Ambition of a formidable Power, ever jealous of the Proſperity of *Great Britain*, and equally a Foe to our Civil and Religious Rights. In this View of Things, we cannot fear that the neceſſary Supplies will be denied; or even, that they will be poſtpon'd to Conſiderations of a more Domeſtick Concern.

'We are not ignorant that this Meaſure hath been recommended by ſome of our Fellow-Subjects with an uncommon, (we wiſh we cou'd not ſay an indecent and unreaſonable) Zeal. For our own Parts, we declare, that as we eſteem the Freedom and Conſtitutional Independency of the Commons in Parliament among the moſt valuable of our Legal Rights, if not the Foundation of all the reſt; ſo we are convinced, that every conſiſtent Advocate for *Britiſh* Liberty muſt pay a juſt Regard likewiſe to the Freedom and Conſtitutional Independency of the other Branches of the Legiſlature. And ſince a peremptory Demand of new Laws, as preliminary to the granting the Neceſſary Supplies in a Time of actual War, hath in our Opinion a fatal Tendency, either to deſtroy that Freedom and Independency, or to leave the Nation defenceleſs, we aſſure ourſelves you will not give into a Meaſure ſo repugnant to our Conſtitution, and in its Conſequences ſo deſtructive to our Country.

'We cannot, we ought not, to conclude this Addreſs without making our publick Acknowledgments to you for your unwearied Attendance on the Duties of your Truſt, and the conſtant Attention you have given to every Point in which the Trade of the Kingdom, or the Intereſt of this City, have been concern'd.

CANN, *Town Clerk.*

Obſervations on the Practice of ſending Inſtructions to Members from their Electors.

But as a Controverſy enſued among our Political Writers, in which it was aſſerted by ſome, That the ſending up Inſtructions from Counties and Corporations to their reſpective Members is without Precedent, and ſubverſive of the Conſti-

'tution,

tution, we ſhall content ourſelves with barely obſerving, that when the Bill for excluding the Duke of *York* from the Crown, was brought into the Houſe of Commons, in the thirty-third Year of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and the Fourth Parliament had been diſſolved by the King to prevent the Progreſs of that Bill, the Lord Mayor, and Citizens of *London*, ſent up Inſtructions to their Members, requiring them to inſiſt on the paſſing it; and Sir *Robert Clayton* gave it as one Reaſon, in his Speech * upon that Occaſion, that his Duty to his Electors obliged him to be for the Bill. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

And the ſame Practice was again repeated from the Citizens of *London* to their Members, upon concluding the Treaty of *Utrecht* in the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*.

* See Chandler's Hiſtory, Anno 33. Car. II. p. 115.

ON the 16th of *November*, the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, after ſeveral Prorogations; and a Bill for farther puniſhing Perſons who ſhall aſſiſt or encourage Priſoners to eſcape, was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Then Mr Speaker reported to the Houſe his Majeſty's Speech, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech at opening the Second Seſſion.

" THE preſent important Conjuncture of Affairs will, " I am perſuaded, be thought a ſufficient Reaſon for " calling you thus early together.

" I have, in Purſuance of the repeated Advice of my Par- " liament, taken ſuch a Part as appeared to me moſt con- " ducive to the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to the " reſtoring and ſecuring of the Balance of Power. In this " View, I order'd a conſiderable Body of Troops to be ſent " from hence into *Flanders*; and, at the Cloſe of the laſt " Seſſion, I foreſaw, and pointed out to you, that it might " be incumbent upon me, to enter into further Meaſures " for the ſame great and deſirable Ends. The Augmentation " of our Strength in the *Low Countries* became a neceſſary " Step; for which Purpoſe I ſent, in Concert with my Al- " lies, Sixteen Thouſand of my Electoral Troops thither, " with the *Heſſians* in the *Britiſh* Pay, in order to form " ſuch a Force, in Conjunction with the *Auſtrian* Troops, " as might be of Service to the common Cauſe in all Events;

" and

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

" and I doubt not but I ſhall have your Aſſiſtance in the Support of theſe neceſſary Meaſures.

" The Magnanimity and Firmneſs of the Queen of *Hungary*, notwithſtanding ſo many numerous Armies ſent againſt her; the reſolute Conduct of the King of *Sardinia*, and his ſtrict Adherence to his Engagements, though attack'd in his own Dominions; the Stop which has been hitherto put to the ambitious Deſigns of the Court of *Spain* in *Italy*, (to which, the Operations of my Fleet, in the *Mediterranean*, have ſo viſibly contributed;) the Change of Affairs in the *North*, which has appeared by the publick Requiſition, made by *Sweden*, of my good Offices, for procuring a Peace between *Ruſſia* and that Crown; and the Defenſive Alliance agreed upon, not only between me and the *Czarina*, but alſo between me and the King of *Pruſſia*, are Events, which could not have been expected, if *Great Britain* had not ſhewn a ſeaſonable Spirit and Vigour, in Defence and Aſſiſtance of its ancient Allies, and in the Maintenance of the Liberties of *Europe*, as well as of its own true, and laſting Intereſt.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered the proper Eſtimates for the Service of the enſuing Year to be prepared, and laid before you, and alſo an Account of the Expence of thoſe particular Services, which I have already mentioned, and which you will find to have been concerted in as frugal a Manner, as the Nature of them would admit. I am perſuaded, that you will readily grant me ſuch Supplies, as ſhall be found neceſſary for the Security and Welfare of the Nation, requiſite for the Support of the Common Cauſe, and adequate to the preſent Emergency.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" The Importance of your Deliberations at this Time is ſo evident, that I will ſay nothing to enforce it. The Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms; the Succeſs of the War, wherein I am engaged againſt *Spain*; and the Re eſtabliſhment of the Balance and Tranquility of *Europe*, will greatly depend on the Prudence and Vigour of your Reſolutions. Let it be your Care to avoid every Thing that may either delay or weaken them; and to convince the World, that you are determined to make a right Uſe of the preſent Opportunity."

Hereupon a Motion was made, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the Thanks of

of this Houſe for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; to expreſs our great Satisfaction at the conſtant Attention his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give to the Advice of his Parliament; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that, as we think the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the reſtoring and ſecuring the Balance of Power in *Europe*, are inſeparable from the true Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms, We have a grateful Senſe of the early Care his Majeſty took in forming ſuch a Force in the *Low Countries*, as might be of Service to thoſe great and deſirable Ends; which, we are ſatisfied, could not, at that Time, have been ſo readily and effectually done, as by his Majeſty's ſending a Body of his Electoral Troops, together with the *Heſſians*, to join the *Britiſh* and *Auſtrian* Forces in thoſe Parts; and that this Houſe will chearfully and effectually ſupport his Majeſty in all ſuch neceſſary Meaſures; to congratulate his Majeſty on the happy Turn of Affairs in the *North*; and to declare, that we are fully convinced, that it is owing to the Spirit and Vigour, which his Majeſty has ſhewn in the Defence of his Allies, that the King of *Sardinia* has been enabled to act a Part ſo uſeful to the common Cauſe, and that the Queen of *Hungary* has been encouraged to bear up amidſt extream Difficulties, and notwithſtanding the numerous Enemies ſent againſt her; to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe will grant to his Majeſty ſuch Supplies, as ſhall be found neceſſary for perfecting the great Work, in which he is engaged, for proſecuting with Vigour the juſt and neceſſary War with *Spain*, and for maintaining the Honour and Security of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms; and that in all our Deliberations we will endeavour to make manifeſt to the World, that we have nothing ſo much at Heart, as the Honour of his Majeſty, the Support of his Government, and the true Intereſt of his Crown and Kingdoms.'

Debate on a Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks for the King's Speech.

This Motion being Seconded, a Debate enſued, in which ſeveral Members objected to the ſame, as implying too haſty an Approbation of the Meaſures of the Miniſtry: And Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn* ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir W. W. Wynn.

Mr Speaker,

'What happened towards the End of laſt Seſſion, gave me a ſtrong Suſpicion, that our new Miniſters would not only tread the Steps of the old, but would endeavour to improve every bad Precedent introduced by any of their Predeceſſors: Their Conduct ſince that Time has added to this Suſpicion; and the Motion now made to you has confirmed it. Every one muſt remember how violently ſome Gentlemen in both Houſes of Parliament have for ſeveral Years

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

been exclaiming againſt the late Cuſtom of making long complaiſant Addreſſes to the Crown, by Way of Anſwer to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; and with how much Zeal they endeavoured to perſuade us, to return to our old Cuſtom of preſenting a ſhort General Addreſs upon ſuch Occaſions. Yet no ſooner have thoſe Gentlemen got into Power, and I believe but a very ſmall Share of it, than they quite alter their Tone, and propoſe to us a much longer, and, I think, a more paraſitical Addreſs than was ever propoſed by any of their Predeceſſors.

'Surely, Sir, they muſt have a moſt contemptible Opinion of this Houſe, if they expect, that we ſhould plunge into high Encomiums upon Meaſures which we know nothing of, and aſſert Facts which it is not poſſible for us to tell whether they be true or not. If we comply with ſuch a Requeſt, I muſt ſay, they or their Succeſſors, for I foreſee their Reign will not be long, will have Reaſon to cry out with the *Roman* Emperor, they are ſhock'd with the ſlaviſh Complaiſance of the *Britiſh* Senate. When I ſay this, Sir, every Gentleman muſt ſee, that I point at thoſe Expreſſions in the Motion, which propoſe our declaring that we have a grateful Senſe of the early Care his Majeſty took, in forming ſuch a Force in the *Low Countries*, as might be of Service to the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and reſtoring the Balance of Power; that this could not have been ſo effectually done as by his Majeſty's ſending a Body of his Electoral Troops into thoſe Parts; and that the King of *Sardinia*'s being enabled to act a Part uſeful to the common Cauſe, and the Queen of *Hungary*'s being encouraged to bear up amidſt her Difficulties, are owing to the Spirit and Vigour his Majeſty has ſhewn in the Defence of his Allies.

'For Godſake, Sir, what have we now before us, that can give the leaſt Authority for any of thoſe flattering Declarations? His Majeſty's Speech, indeed, ſeems to give ſome Sort of Authority, but it is an eſtabliſhed Maxim in this Houſe, to look upon that as the Speech of the Miniſters; and Miniſters, we know, are not very ſcrupulous in aſſerting Facts, which, they think, may tend to a Juſtification of their Conduct, as is manifeſt from many Speeches during our late Adminiſtration, and particularly from that Speech made by our Miniſters in the Year 1726-7 * which is, perhaps, one of the longeſt and moſt ſtuff'd with bold Aſſertions, that was ever attempted to be paſſed upon a *Britiſh* Parliament; and every one may now ſee the Misfortunes

* See the Speech at large, and the Imperial Reſident's Declaration on that Occaſion in Chandler's Hiſtory, Anno 13, Geo. I.

tunes naturally flowing from the Conduct which that Speech was intended to juſtify. The Facts aſſerted in that Speech were ſuch as have ſince appeared to be falſe, and, indeed, they were ſuch as from the very Nature of Things would have appeared ſuſpicious to an independent and unprejudiced Parliament; we therefore never ought, in our Addreſs, to repeat any of thoſe Facts mentioned or referred to in the Speech from the Throne; much leſs in our Addreſs, to declare our Satisfaction with regard to any Circumſtance that may probably, upon a ſtrict Examination, apear to be falſe, which is, I think, the Caſe with regard to ſeveral Circumſtances mentioned in this Propoſition. That his Majeſty has ſent a few of his *Britiſh* Troops to *Flanders* is certainly true, and, I believe, we ſhall very ſoon find it to be ſo, by the Demands made upon us for their Support and Tranſportation; but how they can, in that Country, be of any Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, or to the reſtoring of the Balance of Power is more than I can comprehend, unleſs it could be ſaid, that the *Dutch* are to join with us, in order to form an Army for attacking *France* upon that Side; and if I am rightly informed, the contrary of this is true; for, I believe, they have declared to us, that whoever ſtrikes the firſt Blow in that Part of the World, they will look upon as their Enemies, and will treat them as ſuch. But ſuppoſe, Sir, that the Force we have ſent to *Flanders* could there be of any Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, or the Balance of Power, can we ſay, it has been done early? Early with regard to what, Sir? Surely, it cannot be ſaid to have been done early with regard to the Seaſon of the Year; for the Time for Action was almoſt over before they were ſent there. And with regard to the War now carrying on againſt the Queen of *Hungary*, I am ſure, it cannot be ſaid to have been done early; for if it had not been for the ſurpriſing Fidelity and Bravery of her own Subjects, and the more ſurpriſing ill Conduct of her Enemies, ſhe had been obliged to ſubmit to a Carte-Blanche long before we ſent a Man into *Flanders*. This Word, *Early*, can therefore be ſuppoſed to relate only to our new Miniſters; and in this Caſe it ought to have a Conſequence which I wiſh it may, but it is ſuch a one as they, I believe, do not wiſh to ſee. It ought to engage us in an Inquiry, why this was not done by our former Miniſter; for if it is ſuch a wiſe and ſuch a neceſſary Step in our new Miniſters, why was it not thought on? Why was it not made by our old?

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'For theſe Reaſons, Sir, the ſending of our Troops to *Flanders* is a Meaſure which we ought not to precipitate our-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ſelves into an Approbation of: At leaſt we cannot, I think, ſay to his Majeſty that it has been done early. As the Affair cannot yet come properly before us, I ſhall not determine myſelf upon either Side of the Queſtion; but in the Light it appears to me at preſent, I cannot think the Meaſure right, and if it was, I am ſure we cannot ſay, it was early enough undertaken, unleſs we deſign our Addreſs for our new Miniſters and not for our Sovereign. This Part of the Propoſition I cannot therefore agree to, and the next is really ſurpriſing. To deſire this Houſe to aſſert poſitively, that a proper Force could not be formed in *Flanders* without taking *Hanoverians* into our Pay, before we have had any one Proof of the Fact laid before us, is really a Piece of Aſſurance in our new Miniſters, ſuperior to any that was ever practiſed by any of their Predeceſſors. Whether we have amongſt us, now the Blue Ribbon is fled, any one that is of his Majeſty's Cabinet Council, I do not know; but this, I am ſure, is a Fact that cannot be aſſerted by any but ſuch as have been for ſome Time there; and therefore I muſt beg of our Miniſters not to deſire us to aſſert a Fact which we neither do nor can know any Thing about. I think it highly improbable, that we could get no Troops to hire in all *Europe*, beſide theſe *Hanoverians*; and if there were any other Troops to be had, in *Europe*, they might have been marched into *Flanders* Time enough for any Uſe we can make of them; for it is certain, we cannot now make uſe of them, either in *Flanders*, or any where elſe, till next Spring, before which Time it is as certain, that Troops may march to *Flanders* from the remoteſt Corner of *Europe*.

'I ſhall not anticipate the Debate, Sir, either upon our ſending our own Troops to *Flanders*, or upon marching the *Hanoverians* and *Heſſians* thither; but I muſt obſerve, that as Things appear to me at preſent, if we deſign that our Troops ſhould be of any real Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, we ſhould have ſent our own Troops to *Hanover*, in order to have formed ſuch an Army there, as might have prevented *M. Maillebois*'s March to the Relief of *Prague*, or to have drove him and all his Ragamuffins back to his own Country; for if we had formed a ſufficient Army in *Hanover*, and had been ready to attack him, or follow him, I believe he would hardly have ventured to have marched his Army into *Bohemia*; and if he had been forced to march back to his own Country, I believe, all the *French* Troops then in *Germany* would ſoon have been at the Mercy of the Queen of *Hungary*, and the *Emperor* would have been oblig'd to come to an Accomodation with her, upon ſuch Terms as we had thought fit to propoſe. This, Sir, I ſhall grant, is foreign

reign to the preſent Debate; but it is, I think, a very good Reaſon for our reſolving to ſay nothing in our Addreſs either about ſending our own Troops to *Flanders*, or about marching the *Hanoverians* thither. If our Miniſters are fond of having Compliments from this Houſe upon their Meaſures, I hope they will ſtay till thoſe Meaſures are brought properly before us, and then our Compliments will come with a greater, and, I think, a much more deſirable Weight. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The late Turn of Affairs in the *North*, I ſhall allow, Sir, to be happy both to this Kingdom and to *Europe*; becauſe it has diſappointed the Tools of *France* in *Sweden*, and may bring ſome of them to the Block. I wiſh, I ſaw ſome *French* Tools nearer Home brought into the ſame Sort of Danger. But let that Turn be as happy as it will, we have no Buſineſs with congratulating his Majeſty upon it, becauſe it implies, as if we thought it owing in ſome Meaſure to the Conduct of our Miniſters; whereas it is entirely owing to the Wiſdom of the *Ruſſian* Court, the Conduct of their Generals, and the Bravery of their Troops.

'I ſhall likewiſe grant, Sir, that the preſent Conduct of the King of *Sardinia* is of great Uſe to the Common Cauſe; and that the Queen of *Hungary* has bore up in a very ſurpriſing Manner amidſt the many Difficulties ſhe has been, and ſtill is ſurrounded with; but I cannot be ſo complaiſant as to ſay, that either the Conduct of the King of *Sardinia*, or the Courage of the Queen of *Hungary*, is owing to the Spirit and Vigour our Miniſters have ſhewn in the Defence of our Allies. I ſay, I cannot paſs ſuch a Compliment, becauſe I do not think it is true. The Conduct of the King of *Sardinia* may, indeed, be partly owing to our Money, and the Neighbourhood of our Fleet in the *Mediterranean*; but it is chiefly owing to his own Intereſt, and to the Spirit which the Queen of *Hungary* has ſhewn in her own Defence. And as to the latter, her bearing up under ſo many Difficulties is ſo far from being the Effect of Vigour ſhewn by our Miniſters, that all the Difficulties ſhe has been brought into are owing to the Conduct of our late Miniſter; for if he had made any one right Step upon the Death of the late *Emperor*, I am perſuaded, the *French* would not have dared to ſend a Man into *Germany*, nor would the Duke of *Bavaria* have dared to attack the Queen of *Hungary*. 'Tis true, our new Miniſters have made at leaſt a Shew of a little more Spirit and Vigour than their Predeceſſor; but as yet it is but a Shew, and before they made even that Shew, the Queen of *Hungary* was extricated out of her greateſt Difficulty,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. Difficulty, by the Bravery of her Troops, and the treacherous Conduct of the *French* towards the King of *Pruſſia*.

'I have now, Sir, gone through this long complicated Motion. I ſay complicated, becauſe it is evidently made up of Profeſſions of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty, and of Compliments to the Miniſters upon their Conduct. As to the former Part of it, I ſhall be for making thoſe Profeſſions as ſtrong and exeplicit as you pleaſe: I ſhall even be for enlarging them if it be deſired; but as to the other Part, I think, we ought never on ſuch an Occaſion to paſs Compliments upon the Conduct of our Miniſters, and eſpecially ſuch as appear evidently falſe. I hope I have ſhewn that all thoſe deſired by this Motion are ſuch, or at leaſt highly improbable; therefore, I hope, the Honourable Gentleman will leave them all out, and content himſelf with that Part of his Motion which contains our Profeſſions of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty only.

Sir Will. Yonge. Sir *William Yonge* ſpoke in favour of the Motion.

Sir,

'I hope I ſhall never be accuſed of having oppoſed a proper and dutiful Return to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne: I was always of Opinion, that when his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed, in his Speech, to deſcend to Particulars, and to give us ſome Account of the State of our publick Affairs, we are in Duty bound to return an Anſwer, of ſome Kind or other, to every Particular mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech; and I do not well know what Gentlemen mean when they ſay, this is contrary to the Cuſtom of our Anceſtors. I am ſure, Sir, this Method of addreſſing has been a Cuſtom ever ſince I can remember, and, I believe, it has been the Cuſtom ever ſince our Kings have been pleaſed to give us any particular Account of our Affairs in their Speeches from the Throne. This, it is very well known, was not the Cuſtom in antient Times; for in thoſe Days the King made but a very ſhort Speech, perhaps a general Compliment to the two Houſes, and left it to his Chancellor * to deſcend to Particulars, and to give the Parliament an Account of the State of publick Affairs, and the Reaſons for calling them together.

'In thoſe Times therefore, Sir, it was right in both Houſes to return a general Anſwer; for they could not with any Propriety take Notice, in their Addreſs to the King, of any Thing that had been ſaid to them by the Lord Chancellor,

* Inſtances of this ſee in King Charles the Second's Reign, Anno 1660. Tom. I. p. 24, &c.

cellor. But it being now the Cuſtom, and a moſt gracious and reſpectful Cuſtom, I think, it is: I ſay, it being now the Cuſtom for the King himſelf, in his Speech from the Throne, to communicate to us a particular Account of the State of our Affairs, we ought at leaſt to be as reſpectful to him as he is to us; and conſequently, in our Addreſs, to take ſome Notice at leaſt, of every Thing he has been pleaſed to mention. Nay, as our Addreſſes upon ſuch Occaſions are never held to be an Approbation of any Meaſure mentioned in them, we ought to make ſome Sort of Compliment upon every Thing he has been pleaſed to ſay, unleſs the Meaſure be evidently wrong, and ſuch as will certainly meet with a Cenſure, in that Seſſion of Parliament. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'This being the Caſe, Sir, I think, there is nothing propoſed by this Motion but what may be ſafely, and I think, ought in Duty to be agreed to. We have not, 'tis true, as yet had Time to conſider fully every particular Circumſtance in his Majeſty's Speech, and propoſed to be inſerted in our Addreſs; but, in my Opinion, there is no Meaſure mentioned in either, that appears evidently to be wrong. I am convinced, that upon a thorough Examination they will all appear to be right, and will receive the Approbation of this Houſe. As to our ſending our Troops to *Flanders*, tho' I do not pretend to be in the Secrets of the Cabinet, yet from thoſe Circumſtances that were publickly known I muſt conclude, it was not only right but neceſſary for us to ſend a Body of our Troops to the Continent, in order to ſhew to thoſe who ſecretly, perhaps, inclined to enter into an Alliance with us againſt the ambitious Projects of *France*, that we not only would, but were ready to protect them againſt the Reſentment of that powerful and aſpiring Nation. And if it was neceſſary for us to ſend a Body of our Troops to the Continent, *Flanders* was the moſt proper Place we could ſend them to, for anſwering this Purpoſe, not only becauſe it was the moſt Centrical, but becauſe we could from thence, with the greateſt Eaſe, carry the War into *France* itſelf, in Caſe that Court ſhould reſolve to ſend any more of its Troops into *Germany*, or to attack any of thoſe Powers that might declare in our Favour.

'This had accordingly, Sir, the intended Effect: It not only prevented the *French* from ſending any more Troops into *Germany*, but it prevented their ſending any Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* in *Savoy*. Would our ſending our Troops to *Hanover* have had this Effect? Could we thereby have drove *M. Maillebois* back to his own Country? No, Sir, the *French* being then ſecure againſt any Attack upon their own Dominions, if *M. Maillebois* found he could

not

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

not ſafely march directly into *Bohemia*, he would have marched up the *Rhine* towards *Alſace*, and after being joined there by a freſh Body of Troops, he would have marched to *Bohemia*, and thereby have made that Country the Seat of War, which would have been dangerous for the Queen of *Hungary*, and extremely inconvenient for us. At the ſame Time, and for the ſame Reaſon, the *French* would have ſent a Body of Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards* in *Savoy*, which would have forced the King of *Sardinia* to deſert his Alliance with the Queen of *Hungary*, and to accept the Terms offered by *France* and *Spain*. Beſides theſe Diſadvantages, Sir, there is another of equal Conſequence, which would have attended our ſending our Troops to *Hanover*: It would have furniſhed the King's Domeſtick Enemies with a Pretence for ſaying, that *England* was going to be involved in a War for the Sake of *Hanover*; and this Pretence, tho' very ill grounded, might have had a fatal Effect upon the Minds of our common People, and perhaps upon the Minds of our Soldiers.

'From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, it is apparent, that *Flanders* was the only proper Place we could ſend our Troops to; and as they could not by themſelves, even after being ſent there, have any great Effect upon the Councils of *France*, it became neceſſary to increaſe our Force there, by the Addition of Foreign Troops, hired from ſome Potentate or other. Whether we could get any other Troops to hire beſide thoſe of *Hanover*, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould not take the Troops of *Hanover* into our Pay as ſoon as any other; and in the preſent Caſe, they were certainly the moſt ready, becauſe they were neareſt, and becauſe an Agreement for taking them into our Pay could be much ſooner concluded, than an Agreement for ſuch a Purpoſe with any other Prince or Potentate in *Europe*. In the Circumſtances we were then in, the Seaſon for Action was not in the leaſt to be conſidered. We were to give Spirit to the Friends of publick Liberty: We were to give Terror to its Enemies, by forming a great Army in *Flanders*; and this was to be done as ſoon as poſſible.

'This, Sir, was to be his Majeſty's Care: It is this we are to declare our grateful Senſe of; and this Care his Majeſty took as early as the Circumſtances of the Affairs of *Europe* would admit. We need not therefore be at a Loſs to find out what the Word *Early* relates to. It neither relates to the War, nor to our new Miniſters: It relates only to that Turn the Affairs of *Europe* took by the Peace concluded between

tween the Courts of *Vienna* and *Berlin*. Whilſt the Court of *Vienna* continued obſtinate with Regard to the King of *Pruſſia*: Whilſt that Prince continued firm to his Alliance with *France* and *Bavaria*, we could not ſo much as think of giving any Aſſiſtance by our Armies to the Queen of *Hungary*, or of forming any Confederacy in her Favour; but no ſooner did this become practicable, by theſe two Courts beginning to give Ear to our Mediation, than his Majeſty began to think of forming ſuch a Force in the *Low Countries*, as might be of Service to the Queen of *Hungary*, and to the reſtoring and ſecuring the Balance of Power in *Europe*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Now, Sir, with regard to the happy Turn of Affairs in the *North*, as it is and muſt be acknowledged to be a happy Turn with regard to *Europe* as well as this Kingdom, we have Reaſon to congratulate his Majeſty upon it, whether he had any Hand in bringing it about or no; and therefore our Congratulation can be no Implication of our thinking that he actually had. But ſuppoſe it were, I ſhould be for agreeing to it, becauſe, I am convinced, it is true; and from the very Nature of the Thing we muſt believe it to be ſo. His Majeſty had a Miniſter at the *Swediſh* Court: He had another at the *Ruſſian*; can we think, that thoſe Miniſters had not Inſtructions to labour with all their Might to bring about a Reconciliation between thoſe two Powers? I ſhall grant, that the Wiſdom of the *Ruſſian* Councils, the Conduct of their Generals, and the Bravery of their Troops, contributed not a little towards rendering his Majeſty's Endeavours ſucceſsful; but can we ſuppoſe, that the King and Senate of *Sweden* would, publickly, have made a Requiſition of his Majeſty's good Offices, if they had not beforehand been informed, not only that his Majeſty was ready to employ his good Offices in their Favour, but alſo that his good Offices would have great Weight at the *Ruſſian* Court? I wonder how any Gentleman can doubt of this, and I much more wonder how any Gentleman can object to our congratulating upon an Event, which he himſelf allows to be happy for this Kingdom as well as for *Europe*.

'As to the Conduct of the King of *Sardinia*, it is ſo evidently owing to the Engagements his Majeſty has entered into with that Prince, and to the vigorous Conduct of our Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, that I am ſurpriſed to hear that Part of the Motion objected to; and as to the Courage or Reſolution of the Queen of *Hungary*, I ſhall grant it was ſurpriſingly great, even before we thought, or could think of ſending any Troops to her Aſſiſtance; but tho' I would avoid as much as poſſible, ſaying any Thing that might look like

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

a Reflection upon that illuſtrious Princeſs, yet I muſt ſay, that her Conduct with Regard to *Pruſſia* was to be called Obſtinacy rather than Courage and Reſolution; for if ſhe had continued to hold the ſame Conduct with Regard to him, it would have been impoſſible for her to extricate herſelf out of her Difficulties: It would have been impoſſible for us, or for any Power in *Europe*, to have given her effectual Aſſiſtance: But ſince her concluding a Treaty with that Prince, by Means of his Majeſty's Mediation, her Bearing up againſt the united Armies of *France* and *Bavaria*, may properly be called Courage or Reſolution; and this is certainly owing to the vigorous Meaſures his Majeſty began to take upon her entering heartily into a Treaty with the King of *Pruſſia*.

'Thus, Sir, I hope, I have ſhewn, that there is no real Foundation for objecting to any Part of the Motion now before you; and that it would be a Want of Reſpect in us, not to take ſome Sort of Notice, in our Addreſs, of every Thing his Majeſty has been pleaſed to communicate to us by his Speech from the Throne. This, I hope, you will avoid being guilty of: If you conſider the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, I am ſure, you will avoid it with the utmoſt Caution. *Europe* engaged in a War which may end in the Overthrow of its Liberty: This Nation engaged in a War which may end in the Ruin of our Trade and Navigation: In theſe Circumſtances would you do any Thing, would you neglect any Thing, that might be conſtrued as a Want of Reſpect to your Sovereign? Would not this diſhearten our Friends, would it not encourage our Enemies? What terrible Conſequences ſhould we not then have Reaſon to expect? I muſt therefore beſeech Gentlemen not to give themſelves up to cavilling upon this Occaſion. If they think any Part of our late Conduct wrong, there is nothing now propoſed that can prevent their cenſuring it when it comes properly before them. Why then ſhould they object to the moſt reſpectful Addreſs that can be thought of upon this Occaſion, when they muſt be ſenſible, that the more reſpectful it is, the more unanimouſly it is agreed to, the greater and the better Effect it will have upon our Affairs both Abroad and at Home?

Mr Selwyn.

Major *Selwyn* ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'I riſe not up to enter minutely into the Purport of what is now moved and ſeconded, an Undertaking, Sir, rather too delicate for one whoſe Retirement from this Place may be

be deemed a Misfortune, and I look upon it as ſuch, becauſe of that laudable Spirit which was frequently exerted in the laſt Parliament, much beyond what I ever knew, during the Time I formerly ſat here. God be thank'd, Sir, I have ſeen it again revived, without the leaſt Innovation in our Parliamentary Conſtitution. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'In that Light I look upon the Motion now before you, Sir, with Reſpect to the Form of this Addreſs. But alas, Sir, fond as we are of modern Precedents, yet it were to be wiſhed that ſuch of them, and ſuch only had been followed, as were moſt conducive to the Honour and Dignity of Parliaments. The amiable Precedents left us by our moſt worthy Anceſtors, are the ſtrongeſt Inſtances, that they in their greateſt Exigencies of State, had nothing ſo much at Heart as to gain the good Opinion of all Mankind; and this they happily effected, becauſe their Conduct in this Place ſo juſtly deſerved it. As they were always appriſed, that Honour conſiſts not in the Power only of any Aſſembly whatſoever, but in the Opinion the People have of their Virtue; a Principle ſtrictly honourable, exalting the Mind above Hopes and Fears, above Favour and Diſpleaſure, becauſe uniform and conſiſtent with itſelf; their Addreſſes were dutiful, tho' ſhort, yet ſuitable to the Time they were allowed to ſit, where in ſtruggling hard for the Liberties of the People, they ſometimes loſt their own, and ſome their Lives for only daring to be free. Thus gloried they in a a true publick Spirit, and had the Comfort to ſay, *Temporibus malis auſi ſumus eſſe Boni*; therefore, their Names and Memories are ſtill revered, and ſo they ought to be in all future Ages. They never held a long Addreſs crammed with a Volubility of Compliments, as eſſential to Loyalty: No, they ſaid Loyalty well became the Dignity of their Houſe, but as for all fawning Complaiſance, that they properly confined within the Boundaries of the *Court of Requeſts*, and would not ſo much as ſuffer it to inſinuate, no nor yet to creep up the Lobby-Stairs.

'Sir, upon my Obſervation of this Houſe, I am thoroughly convinced, that there is not one of us, but muſt think it requiſite to ſupport the Honour of the King, the Honour of the Nation, and his own Honour; which having all but one and the ſame natural Center, we cannot avoid being unanimous in the moſt eſſential Proofs of our Loyalty, by giving true and faithful Advice, as the faithful Commons of *Great Britain*, purſuant to the Tenor of the Writ that calls us here.

'Sir, I have but one Objection to the Form of this Ad-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

dreſs, which is its Length, and I cannot ſee why a Compoſition of ſo many dutiful Expreſſions ſhould not ſtand by themſelves, by Way of Congratulation only, without a Promiſe or Grant of Supplies in the Tail of it. Thus the Motion ſtands at preſent, and this I cannot think right; becauſe in our critical Situation to reſolve precipitately upon a Supply, altho' in general Terms, I think is dangerous and immethodical. Such a Reſolution would be much more proper for the Work of another Day, when it might be attended to with a more mature Deliberation. I know it hath been often urged in this Place, that a Reſolution taken and agreed upon the firſt Day of a Seſſion, for a Supply, as a Part of our Addreſs, is a mere Matter of Form only; but, Sir, I have ſat long enough within theſe Walls to have ſeen Forms, and Figures too, moſt eſſentially miſapplied. It is, therefore, to obviate ſuch Inconveniences as may again ariſe by this modern Practice, that I ſhall take the Liberty to end what I have yet to ſay, with a Motion; for I ſhall never be for this Houſe's coming precipitately to any Reſolution with regard to Supplies, notwithſtanding my being one of thoſe that ſhall never think our Lives or Fortunes too much for the Support of this State: A State that can never be too fond of its Freedom and civil Rights, which our Neighbours have long ſince loſt by their own Meanneſs and Corruption, holding their All in Vaſſalage and baſe Tenure.

'Sir, I have read that *Conſtantine the Great* accounted the Purſe of his Subjects as his *Exchequer*; but we may juſtly fix the *Exchequer* of our Sovereign in a more noble Situation, even in the Hearts of his Subjects; and why? Becauſe he has always found his paternal Care and Maintenance of our antient Rights and Liberties to be the ſureſt Baſis of his Glory: A Glory doubtleſs it is, to be at the Head of a brave and a free People: Brave becauſe we are Free: People may be deſperate and irrational; but none can be truly brave, unleſs they are free. Our People pay their Taxes and Impoſts with all that Chearfulneſs and Alacrity that becometh dutiful Subjects, not doubting of their Money's being well apply'd, and doubting ſtill leſs of their having an Account of its Appropriation; for believe me, Sir, in all Caſes of publick Inquiry, a fair and candid Reckoning with the People, will be the ſureſt Means for making their Allegiance ſtill to ſit tight about them. Crafty Inventions may pick the Purſe of the People; but nothing can legally and fairly open it, but a Parliament which lets in the Eye of Sovereignty upon all the publick Calamities of the State, and ſhews a becoming Vigilance for the Preſervation of our

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antient Rights and Privileges, which I muſt beg Leave to ſay were always a little precarious, and never ſo totally eſtabliſh'd as upon the Arrival of the preſent Royal Family. Since then it is but natural to preſerve the Root of our immediate Happineſs, how can we enough admire the glorious Branches, nay even the tendereſt Twigs, which, with the Bleſſing of Providence, and our hearty Prayers for them, muſt grow into ſo beautiful a Shade, by Nature formed to ſhelter and protect you from the Violence, Oppreſſion and arbitrary Power which neither we nor our Forefathers were ever able to bear. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'However, let us enjoy the more immediate Proſpect of ſuch Halcyon Days as we may reaſonably expect from the Conduct of the preſent Adminiſtration, and eſpecially too if we conſider, Sir, how much the Change of Men and Meaſures hath already wrought a happier Change in the Face of Affairs upon the Continent, where the Diſtreſſes of a great Princeſs have prevailed upon you to undertake her moving Cauſe; ſo that I cannot help flattering myſelf, that this Adminiſtration will not ſo ſtrictly follow the Tract of their Predeceſſors; tho' one cannot recollect or fix any Period of Time when this Nation ever was the Object of the Care of our Miniſters in the firſt Inſtance, as it ought always to have been; or that even after the Revolution, there ever was a Conteſt among them, which ſhould outdo the other in Acts of Reſentment for Injuries done to this their Mother Country.

'Surely, Sir, if that had been the Caſe, you had not heard of ſo many pernicious Treaties formed abroad, no, nor yet of ſo many late ſcandalous Contracts at home, to the Detriment of our Friends, Fellow-Soldiers and Countrymen. Nevertheleſs, whatſoever may have been otherwiſe ſuggeſted by ſome without Doors, yet it is to be hoped, that Time will convince them too, that it was impracticable to corrupt the Fountain, or to ſtrip the third Eſtate of its Freedom and Independency; and that it cannot be thought a Crime for the preſent Parliament to bear ſome Reſemblance of ſuch as were once the Glory of this Nation; for as Independency is the greateſt Comfort that can attend the Individual, ſo it never centers in the Body Politick, but it immediately becomes a National Benefit, and in Return you will always be rewarded with the Applauſe of the People, to whom, indeed, you owe no ſmall Regard: For ſurely, Sir, it was high Time to ſhut cloſe *Pandora*'s Box, at the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion, or ſuch a Complication of Diſtempers as were therein contained, muſt have infected

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An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

the very Air we breathe, with their infernal Vapours; and altho' I cannot allow that, *Terras Aſtræa reliquit*, is applicable to us, yet I could never hear or read of any Government whatſoever, that had for a long Series of Time been ſupported by Corruption, but a Saying of my Friend *Horace* always occurred to my Mind, *O Cives, Cives, quærenda Pecunia primum eſt: Virtus poſt Nummos.* Yet to prevent ſuch Diſaſters as may hereafter happen again to affect our State, why ſhould we not revert to that antient and laudable Practice of our Anceſtors, in letting Grievances and Supplies go Hand in Hand together, and like them too, always take Care to begin right, with a dutiful and ſhort Addreſs? Therefore my humble Motion is, That this Addreſs may conſiſt of Congratulations only.

After ſeveral Members had declar'd their Opinions, Sir *John Barnard* ſpoke to the Effect following.

Sir,

Sir John Barnard.

'As I ſhall, I believe, give my Vote for the Addreſs propoſed, I think it incumbent upon me to give the Reaſons which prevail with me to do ſo, becauſe they are very different from thoſe that have been inſiſted on by moſt Gentlemen who have ſpoke in favour of the Motion. It is not, Sir, becauſe I now begin to approve of our making Compliments to our Miniſters upon every Part of their Conduct, before we have examined, or know any Thing about it: It is not becauſe I approve of every Step that has been lately taken, or becauſe I think the happy Change in the Face of the Affairs of *Europe* is owing to the Spirit or Conduct of our Miniſters: But it is becauſe of the extreme Danger to which I think the Liberties of *Europe* as yet expoſed, and the Neceſſity there is for this Nation to act with the utmoſt Spirit and Vigour, in order to extricate *Europe* from that Danger; therefore I ſhall be againſt our oppoſing this new Adminiſtration in any Thing we can ſafely agree to, leaſt it ſhould furniſh them with a Pretence for following the Example of their Predeceſſor. I wiſh they had been a little more modeſt in the Motion they have now made to us: I wiſh they had ſhewn a little more Regard to what ſome of them have ſo often recommended upon the like Occaſions; becauſe it would have been a Teſtimony to the People, that they have not changed their Sentiments with their Situation; and that their former Oppoſition to ſuch Addreſſes proceeded from Principle, and not from their having no Share in drawing them up. Such a Conduct would have convinced the People without Doors, that we within have always acted from

from Motives of a generous and publick Nature, and not from corrupt or ſelfiſh Motives, either upon one Side or the other; for in my Opinion, there is very little Difference between a Gentleman's voting always with the Court, for the Sake of a Penſion or pecuniary Gratuity, and another's voting always againſt it, for the Sake merely of forcing himſelf into the Adminiſtration. The latter may have more Pride or Ambition than the former, but their Motives are equally corrupt, and when diſcovered, equally tend to overthrow our Conſtitution, by deſtroying that Principle of Action, I mean a diſintereſted Love for the publick Good, upon which alone a free Government can ſubſiſt. An. 16. Geo. II, 1742.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt deal plainly with our new Miniſters by telling them, that, ſo far as relates to our Domeſtick Affairs, if they go on as they have begun, they will do more real Harm to our Conſtitution, than our late Miniſter ever did, with all his Schemes, for Corruption and arbitrary Power; becauſe they will make the People believe, that our Contention here never was, nor ever will be, about the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, or the publick Good of our Country, but about Titles, Places, Penſions, and Preferments; and if this Opinion ſhould ever prevail generally among the People, they will give over ſupporting any Oppoſition to the Adminiſtration for the Time being: Nay they will rejoice to ſee Parliaments entirely laid aſide.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that with regard to Foreign Affairs, our Conduct ſeems to be a little altered: Our new Miniſters ſeem to act with more Vigour, and to ſhew a little more Regard to the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*, than their Predeceſſor ever did; but I queſtion much if this be owing to their Virtue or publick Spirit, ſo much as to their Complaiſance towards the Crown. The late haughty and inſulting Behaviour of the *French* towards a certain Foreign Court, has, I believe, produced an Alteration in the Politicks of that Court, and that Alteration may probably have had an Influence upon our Court here at home. This Alteration, I ſhall readily admit, is lucky for *Great Britain* as well as *Europe*; becauſe it obliges our Miniſters, or at leaſt leaves them at Liberty, to purſue the true Intereſt of both; but I cannot eaſily admit, that this Change in our Meaſures proceeds from the late Change in our Adminiſtration, for the extreme Complaiſance our new Miniſters have ſhewn to the Crown, with regard to Domeſtick Affairs, convinces me, that they would have ſhewn the ſame Complaiſance with regard to Foreign Affairs, and would have been as ready to have ſacrificed the Liberties of *Europe*, as they

now

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now ſeem ready to ſacrifice the Liberties of their Country to a wrong Bias in the Crown, had it unhappily taken ſuch a Bias. But, thank God! it has taken a right Bias, at leaſt with regard to foreign Affairs; and as Fortune ſeems to favour that Bias, I hope our Miniſters will make the beſt Uſe of it: I am ſure, I ſhall be againſt our refuſing any Thing we can with Safety comply with, that may tend to encourage them in the Proſecution of thoſe Meaſures they now ſeem reſolved to purſue: And as the Addreſs propoſed is allowed on all Sides to be nothing but a Matter of mere Compliment; as it does not tie us down to approve of any Meaſure that has been concerted, if upon a proper Examination we ſhould ſee good Reaſon to find Fault with it, therefore, ſince it has been aſked, I ſhall be for complying with it.

'But my Compliance in this Reſpect does not proceed from my approving of our making Panegyricks upon every Part of our Miniſters Conduct, in our Addreſs to our Sovereign; and if this muſt be the Conſequence of his being ſo gracious as to communicate to us, from his own Mouth, a full State of our Affairs, and all the Particulars of his paſt Conduct ſo far as his Miniſters may think proper, I wiſh, this Piece of Condeſcenſion were laid aſide; but I can ſee no Reaſon why this Complaiſance in us ſhould be a neceſſary Conſequence of ſuch a gracious Condeſcenſion in our Sovereign; nor is it true, that this Complaiſance and Condeſcenſion were at the ſame Time introduced; for in former Times, eſpecially in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles*, the Speeches from the Throne were much longer and more particular than they are at preſent, and yet in thoſe Days the Parliament never thought itſelf bound to return a Long Addreſs, nor did they in their Addreſs take notice of any Thing mentioned in the Speech; becauſe tho' it was made by the Kings they look'd upon it as the Speech of the Miniſter, and very often, the firſt Notice they took of it was, after due Conſideration, to remonſtrate againſt ſeveral Things contain'd in it.

'Whether we may have Occaſion to remonſtrate againſt any of the Meaſures mentioned in this Speech, is what cannot now, nor even in this Seſſion, I think, be determined. If a proper Uſe be made of the Forces ſent from hence, and from *Hanover* to *Flanders*, I hope, we ſhall not. It will give foreign Powers ſome Reaſon to think, that we are now ſincerely reſolved to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, to the utmoſt of our Power, and this, I think, we ought to do, if we give her any Aſſiſtance at all. This may encourage ſome of them to ſhake off thoſe Shackles of Fear, they ſeem now to have

have upon them; and conſidering our Conduct for many Years, I think, it was become neceſſary to give ſome ſpeedy and ſolid Proof of our Sincerity in this Reſpect. I ſhall not therefore pretend to find Fault with our ſending a Body of our Troops to *Flanders*, till I ſee what Uſe is made of them. I hope, thoſe who adviſed putting their Country to ſuch an Expence, were well aſſured of its being in their Power to make a proper Uſe of the Troops we have ſent thither, before they adviſed ſending them. If it ſhould afterwards appear, that they had no ſuch Aſſurance: If it ſhould hereafter appear, that this Army has been ſent out, as our Squadrons have formerly been, only as a Raree-Shew for our Neighbours to ſtare at, I muſt now enter my Proteſtation, that my approving of this Addreſs ſhall be no Argument with me to approve of the Meaſure.

'As for the *Hanover* Troops, Sir, we have as yet no Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they are to be taken into *Britiſh* Pay. The Electorate of *Hanover* is as much obliged, both in Honour and Intereſt, as we are, to ſupport and aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*; At leaſt we know as yet of no Advantage it is to reap by her Deſtruction; and as no Addition has upon this Account been made to the Armies of that Electorate, we muſt ſuppoſe it ſufficiently able to maintain thoſe Troops in *Flanders*, or any where elſe, as well as at home. The People there have been lately relieved from ſome of their moſt burdenſome Taxes, which is a Pleaſure and an Advantage the People of this Country have never yet met with; therefore if the preſent Revenue of *Hanover* be not ſufficient for maintaining thoſe Troops in a foreign Country, that Revenue may be increaſed by a Revival of thoſe Taxes. I therefore hope, his Majeſty will not deſire to lay upon his *Britiſh* Subjects the Burden of maintaining his *Hanover* Troops in *Flanders*. He has expreſſed no ſuch Deſire in his Speech from the Throne; and as we are not by this Motion deſired to promiſe to take this Burden upon ourſelves, I can ſee no Reaſon for our bringing the Affair of the *Hanover* Troops into this Debate. If the Electorate is to be at the Expence of maintaining them in *Flanders*, I believe every *Britiſh* Subject will approve of his Majeſty's ſending them there; and if this Nation ſhould be deſired to bear the Charge, it will be Time enough to conſider it when the Demand is actually made.

'I am far from thinking, that our ſending our Troops to *Flanders*, or the March of the *Hanoverians* thither, has as yet been of any Service to the Common Cauſe; and I have ſome Suſpicion that the King of *Sardinia*'s declaring ſo openly

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ly againſt the Deſigns of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, proceeds rather from a Connivance in *France*, than from any Spirit or Vigour we have hitherto ſhewn; for as it is not the Intereſt of *France* to increaſe too much the *Spaniſh* Power in *Italy*, and as it is their Buſineſs to defer as long as poſſible the Accompliſhment of the Queen of *Spain*'s Deſigns in that Country, or at leaſt to convince her that ſhe cannot accompliſh them without their Aſſiſtance, it is highly probable, they have privately intimated to the King of *Sardinia*, that his Oppoſition to the *Spaniards* would rather be a Pleaſure than an Offence to them, eſpecially as he was thereby to diſburden us of a little of that Treaſure which, for many Years, we have been ready to throw away upon any Project, except ſuch as might tend immediately to our own Advantage. I am likewiſe not very apt to believe, that the Peace between *Muſcovy* and *Sweden* is owing to the Influence, or the Dexterity of the Miniſters we had at either Court. But, Sir, as both theſe Events muſt be allowed to be for the Intereſt of the Common Cauſe, and may in ſome Meaſure be owing to the late Change in our Conduct, I cannot be againſt congratulating his Majeſty upon them; and as our Complimenting the Crown upon every extraordinary Event that happened in our Favour abroad, has of late Years been cuſtomary, I ſhall not be for our ſhewing ourſelves more cool than uſual at this dangerous and critical Conjuncture; leſt our Miniſters ſhould from thence take a Pretence to ſay, that our Coolneſs upon this Occaſion had deſtroyed their Credit at foreign Courts, and thereby prevented their being able to form ſuch Alliances as might have been ſufficient for reſtoring a Ballance of Power in *Europe*, and giving effectual Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*.

Several other Members, who uſually appear'd in the Oppoſition, declaring their Approbation of Sir *John Barnard*'s Sentiments of the Meaſures of the Miniſtry, it was reſolved, by a Majority of 259 againſt 150, to preſent an Addreſs to his Majeſty in the Terms propoſed.

New Writ for Briſtol.

Ordered a new Writ for *Briſtol*, in the Room of Sir *Abraham Elton* *, Bart. deceas'd.

Committees appointed.

On the 17th the Houſe made the uſual Orders and Reſolutions at the Beginning of every Seſſion, and appointed Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice, Trade, and alſo of Privileges and Elections.

The ſame Day a Motion being made, That a Day be appointed

* Robert Hoblyn, Eſq; was elected without Oppoſition.

pointed to take into Conſideration the State of the Nation, it was reſolved to adjourn, Ayes 169, Noes 129.

Nov. 18. The Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms preſented to the Houſe an Account of prohibited *Eaſt India* Goods remaining in the *Eaſt India* Warehouſes; and alſo, in his Majeſty's Warehouſe, in *London*, at *Michaelmas* 1741. Alſo, an Account of *Eaſt India* Goods prohibited to be worn in this Kingdom, remaining in the reſpective Warehouſes in the Out-Ports at *Michaelmas* 1741, what have been ſince brought in, what exported; as alſo, what remained at *Michaelmas* 1742, in all the afore-mentioned Warehouſes. Alſo, An Account of prohibited *Eaſt India* Goods which have been delivered out of the Warehouſes ſince *Midſummer* 1742, in order to be dyed, glazed, *&c.* What have been return'd, and what remained out of the ſaid Warehouſes at *Michaelmas* 1742. And alſo, an Account of Naval Stores imported from *Ruſſia* into the Port of *London*, and into the Out-Ports of *England*, from *Michaelmas* 1741, to *Michaelmas* 1742.

Accounts preſented.

All which Accounts were ordered to lie upon the Table, to be peruſed by the Members.

A Petition of *Griffith Philips*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County-Borough of * *Caermarthen*; and of *Hugh Barlow*, Eſq; for the Town of * *Haverford-Weſt*, were referred to the Committee of Priviledges and Elections.

Petitions for Caermarthen and Haverford Weſt.

The ſame Day the Houſe waited on the King, with their Addreſs of Thanks as follows:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

'WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our ſincere Thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Commons Addreſs of Thanks for the King's Speech.

'It is with the greateſt Satisfaction, that we have ſeen the conſtant Attention your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give to the Advice of your Parliament; And, as we think that the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the reſtoring and ſecuring the Balance of Power in *Europe* are inſeparable from the true Intereſts of theſe Kingdoms; we deſire, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, to expreſs our grateful Senſe of the early Care taken by your Majeſty in forming ſuch an Army in the *Low Countries*, as might be of Service to thoſe great and deſirable Ends: And as we are

'ſatiſ-

* See the Laſt Reſolutions of the Houſe, relating to the Right of Election for theſe Boroughs, in Vol. XIII. p. 51, and 54.

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'satisfied, that a Force ſufficient for that Purpoſe could not 'have been ſo readily aſſembled, as by your Majeſty's ſend- 'ing a Body of your own *Electoral* Troops, together with 'the *Heſſians*, to join the *Britiſh* and *Auſtrian* Forces in 'thoſe Parts; we are determined chearfully and effectually 'to ſupport your Majeſty in all ſuch neceſſary Meaſures.

'We beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the 'happy and unexpected Turn of Affairs in the *North*: We 'aſſure your Majeſty, that we are fully convinced, that it 'is by the Vigour and Spirit ſhewn by your Majeſty in 'Defence of your Allies, that the Queen of *Hungary* has 'been principally encouraged to bear up amidſt extreme 'Difficulties, notwithſtanding the numerous Armies ſent 'againſt her; and we are perſuaded, that the ſame Spirit 'and Vigour have enabled the King of *Sardinia* to act a 'Part ſo uſeful to the Common Cauſe; to which the Vigi- 'lance and Activity of your Majeſty's Fleet in the *Medi- 'terranean* have ſo remarkably contributed.

'Your faithful Commons aſſure your Majeſty, that they 'will, with the greateſt Alacrity and Readineſs, grant ſuch 'Supplies as ſhall be found neceſſary for perfecting the great 'Work, in which your Majeſty is engaged, for proſecuting 'with Vigour the juſt and neceſſary War with *Spain*, and 'for maintaining the Honour and Security of your Majeſty 'and your Kingdoms.

'Your faithful Commons, in all their Deliberations, will 'endeavour to make manifeſt to the World, that they have 'nothing ſo much at Heart as the Honour of your Majeſty, 'the Support of your Government, and the true Intereſt 'of your Majeſty's Crown and Kingdoms.'

A Supply voted.

A Motion being made, that a Supply be granted to his Majeſty, it was reſolved to conſider thereof in a Committee of the whole Houſe on the *Monday* following, Ayes 135, Noes 105.

New Writs.

Nov. 22. The Houſe ordered a new Writ for electing a Burgeſs for *Burroughbridge*, in the Room of *James Tyrrell* *, Eſq; and another for a Commiſſioner to ſerve for the Shire of *Renfrew*, in the Room of *Alexander Cunningham* †, Eſq; both deceas'd.

Farther Petitions for Caermarthen.

A Petition of *Thomas Philips*, late Mayor, and ſeveral other Burgeſſes of *Wiſton* in the County of *Pembroke*, and of *Rawleigh Manſell*, of the County-Borough of *Caermarthen*, Eſq;

* William Murray, Eſq; lately appointed Solicitor General, on the Reſignation of Sir John Strange, was unanimouſly elected.

† William Mure, Eſq; was choſen.

Esq; were severally presented to the House, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Pembroke*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Then a Motion being made, that the said Petitions be heard at the Bar of the House, it passed in the Negative; and they were referred to the Committee.

After which Mr Speaker reported his Majesty's Answer to their Address:

Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this dutiful and affectionate Address, "and for the great Marks of Confidence you repose in me. The King's Answer to the Address.

"The extraordinary Supplies, that I am obliged to ask of "my People, have become necessary for supporting that "Cause which is inseparable from the true Interests of my "Kingdoms.

"You may be assured I shall wish for nothing more, than "an Opportunity to ease my Subjects of all those extraordi- "nary Charges, which the present Exigency of Affairs may "require.

A Petition of *John Symmons*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of *Pembroke*, was referred to the Committee.

Nov. 23. Ordered that an Estimate of the Ordinary of the Navy, with the Half-Pay of the Officers of the Navy and Marines, of the Charge for Guards and Garrisons, and other Land Forces and Marines: And of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service, for the Year 1743, be laid before the House. Estimates, Lists, and Accounts ordered in.

Ordered also, That a List of the Regimental and Warrant Officers, who are to be in Half Pay; and an Estimate of the Charge of the Out-Pensioners of *Chelsea* Hospital, for the Year 1743; as also, that an Account of Services incurred, and not provided for by Parliament, be laid before the House.

Ordered likewise, That an Account, shewing the Monies arisen within the respective Half Years, ending at *Ladyday* and *Michaelmas* last, of the Surplus of the Aggregate Fund, of the Surplus of the South-Sea Fund, as also of the Surplus of the General Fund: And that an Account, shewing how the Monies given for the Service of the Year 1742, have been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads, be laid before the House.

Nov. 24. A Petition of several Freeholders, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of *Haverford West*, paying Scot and Lot, was presented to the House, and read, complaining of an undue

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undue Election and Return for the ſaid Town, and referred to the Committee of Elections.

Forty Thouſand Seamen voted.

Nov. 25. Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That 40000 Men be employed for the Sea-Service, for the Year 1743: That Four Pounds *per* Man *per* Month be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 40000 Men for thirteen Months, including the Ordnance for Sea-Service.

Nov. 26. Sir *William Yonge* * preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs, an Eſtimate of the Charge of Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces; alſo, of the Charge of his Majeſty's Forces in *Flanders*, and in the Plantations, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*, and alſo of Ten Regiments of Marines for the Year 1743, which were ordered to lye upon the Table, to be peruſed by the Members.

Ordered a new Writ for *Plympton*, in the Room of *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Eſq; † deceas'd.

New Writs and Petitions.

A Petition of the Hon. *George Mackay*, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of *Sutherland*, was referred to the Committee.

Nov. 29. Dr *Lee*, one of the Lords of the Admiralty [*See Vol.* XIII. *p.* 55.] was unanimouſly elected Chairman of the Committee of Elections.

The ſame Day a Deputation of the Electors for *Weſtminſter* waited on their Members. The following was printed in the News-Papers, upon that Occaſion, as Lord *Percival's* Anſwer: His Lordſhip having voted with the Majority in the firſt Diviſion, on the Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks.

Lord Percival's Anſwer to a Deputation from the Electors for Weſtminſter.

Gentlemen,

YOU are welcome to me upon all Occaſions, and I look upon this Application as a freſh Inſtance of your Friendſhip——As I never conceal'd *my Principles from you, ſo will I never* depart *from them——The only Motives that direct* my *Conduct, are the Preſervation of the Conſtitution of my Country, the Security of the preſent Royal Family upon the Throne, and the common Liberty of* Europe.—— *Theſe Views I ſhall always think inſeparable.——In the Proſecution of them, my* Judgment *ſometimes* may, *my Heart* ſhall *never fail me.——I remember on* my *Part, that to your independent Voice, I owe my Seat in Parliament:——On* Yours, *you will not forget that I ought to be independent there.——When I differ*

* Secretary at War.

† Removed from being one of the Lords of the Admiralty ſoon after the Change in the Miniſtry, but appointed Treaſurer of the Navy, in May following, on the Reſignation of Mr Speaker. Hon. Richard Edgcumbe, Eſq; was choſen in his Place.

differ from your Sentiments, I ſhall do it with great Reluctance, and then only when I am convinc'd that your true Intereſts muſt extort it from me. — In ſuch a Caſe the Crime is equal to flatter Popularity, *or to* court Power.—*It becomes me to reſpect both; but it is my Duty to follow neither, beyond thoſe Limits, which the Circumſtance of Time, Prudence, Neceſſity, and the publick Safety can alone determine.*

About the ſame Time *John Jeffereys*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Brecon*, was made Joint Secretary of the Treaſury in the Room of *Henry Furneſe*, Eſq; who had been ſo appointed in the Room of Mr *Legg*, on the late Change in the Treaſury.

A Petition of the Priſoners for Debt at *Bodmyn*, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; complaining of their Diſtreſs, and praying Relief, and ordered to lye upon the Table. Petition from Debtors.

Reſolved, that *William Forreſter*, having counterfeited the Hand-writing of a Member of this Houſe, upon ſeveral Covers for Letters, be, for his ſaid Offence, committed to *Newgate*.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the Reſolution following, *viz.* That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, Four Shillings in the Pound be raiſed in the Year 1743, upon Lands, Tenements, Penſions, Offices, *&c.* Land Tax of 4 s. voted.

A Bill was ordered in, purſuant to the ſaid Reſolution; which was the next Day read the firſt Time and ordered a ſecond Reading.

A Motion was made, and the Queſtion being put, that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, Copies of the Defenſive Alliances agreed upon between his Majeſty and the *Czarina*, and alſo between his Majeſty and the King of *Pruſſia*, together with Copies of the ſeparate Articles; it paſſed in the Negative. Motion for Copies of Treaties.

A Petition of *Arthur Trevor*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſeveral Boroughs of *Denbigh*, &c. was referred to the Committee: As was alſo a Petition of *Jones Raymond*, Eſq; for St *Michael*; of *Nicholas Robinſon*, Eſq; for *Wotton Baſſet*; of General *James Campbell* for the County of *Air*; of *Richard Lloyd*, Eſq; for the Borough of *Cardigan*; of *Matthew Ridley*, Eſq; for *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*; and of *Roderick Gwynne*, Eſq; for the County of *Radnor*. Petitions for Undue Elections.

Decem-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

December 1. The Serjeant at Arms having ſummoned the Members to attend the Service of the Houſe, a Motion was made by Mr *Edmund Waller*, and ſeconded by Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of *Robert* Earl of *Orford*, during the laſt Ten Years of his being Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer; which, after Debate, paſſed in the Negative, Ayes, 186, Noes 252 *.

Dec. 2. Ordered new Writs for a Commiſſioner for the Shire of *Cromarty*, in the Room of Sir *William Gordon* †, Bart. and for the Stewartry of *Kircudbright* ‡, in the Room of *Baſil Hamilton*, Eſq; both deceas'd.

The Houſe being informed, That the Petition of *Nicholas Robinſon*, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Wotton Baſſet*, which had been referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, was not ſigned by the Petitioner, it was Ordered, that it be an Inſtruction to the ſaid Committee, that, before they proceed on the ſaid Petition, they do examine into the Manner of ſigning the ſame, and make Report thereof to the Houſe.

Reſolved, That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Directions, that there be laid before this Houſe, a Liſt of the General Officers, with an Account how many of them are now employed and paid, and where they are at preſent, with the Dates of their reſpective Commiſſions, as ſuch, and of their firſt Commiſſions in the Army; alſo of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Second Lieutenants, Cornets, and Enſigns, of his Majeſty's Forces on the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment, and on the Eſtabliſhment for *Gibraltar*, *Minorca*, and the *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*, with the Dates of their reſpective Commiſſions as ſuch; and alſo of the Dates of the firſt Commiſſions, which ſuch Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, had in the Army.

Liſts of Officers addreſs'd for.

Likewiſe of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets, and Enſigns of his Majeſty's Forces on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, with the Dates of their reſpective Commiſſions as ſuch; and alſo the Date of the firſt Commiſſions, which ſuch Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants had in the Army.

Decem-

* The ſame Queſtion paſs'd in the Affirmative by the ſame Number of Votes laſt Seſſion, as the Number for the Negative in this. See the Debate thereupon, Vol. XIII.

† Sir John Gordon,
‡ Capt. John Maxwell,] were elected,

Dec. 3. Sir *William Yonge* preſented to the Houſe, by his Majeſty's Command, an Account of the Charge of the Troops of *Hanover*, in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the 31ſt of *Auguſt* to the 25th of *December* 1742, being 117 Days; and alſo the Eſtimate of the Charge of the ſaid Troops from the 26th of *December* 1742, to the 25th of *December* 1743: And alſo of the *Heſſian* Troops paid by *Great Britain*, from the 26th of *December* 1742, to the 25th of *December* 1743, both incluſive, which were ordered to lie on the Table. As was alſo a Petition of the Priſoners for Debt, in the Goal of the County of *Salop*.

Eſtimates of the Hanoverian and Heſſian Troops preſented.

Then a Motion was made by Mr *Cornwall*, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons: Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne* ſeconded the Motion to the following Effect:

Debate on a Motion for bringing in the Place-Bill.

Sir,

'As this Motion was laſt Seſſion agreed to, and as the Bill itſelf was brought in, and in every Step approved of, by this very Houſe of Commons, I ſhould with great Confidence of Succeſs riſe up to ſecond this Motion, if I did not from Experience know, that Gentlemen often change their Sentiments with their Situation, and that a Gentleman, after he becomes a Placeman, begins to entertain Notions of the Prerogatives of the Crown and the Liberties of the People, very different from thoſe he entertained whilſt he was a plain, honeſt, Country-Gentleman. If any Thing like this ſhould happen in the preſent Debate, it may tend to diſappoint the Motion, but with all thoſe who are neither Placemen nor Penſioners, I am ſure, it ought to be an Argument in its Favour; and, I hope, it will prevail with ſome Gentlemen, who in former Seſſions oppoſed this Motion, to alter their Sentiments and their Way of voting upon this Occaſion, when they have ſuch a plain Proof before their Eyes, that if a Place does not induce a Man to vote againſt his Honour and his Conſcience, it at laſt biaſſes his Judgment, and makes him conclude that to be wrong, which he before thought and declared to be right.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

'Another ſtrong Argument in Favour of this Motion, Sir, is the melancholy and diſtreſſed Condition which the Affairs of *Europe*, as well as of this Nation, are now reduced to. We have for near thirty Years been in a Courſe of approving and ſupporting almoſt every political Meaſure the Crown ſeemed reſolved to purſue: With regard to foreign Affairs, we have approved and ſupported every one

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of them without Exception: Thank God! I have had no Concern in this general uninterrupted Approbation: I have at the reſpective Times publickly declared my Diſlike of many of them, and yet I am far from thinking, that any of thoſe who approved, voted at any Time againſt the plain Dictates of their Conſcience; but I am convinced, that many of them were biaſſed in their Judgments by the Fears of loſing the Places they poſſeſſed, or the Hopes of getting the Titles, Places, or Preferments they expected. In all Political Diſputes it is very eaſy to impoſe upon Gentlemen, who have never made that Science their Study, and are never let into any Secrets of State unleſs with a Deſign to deceive them; therefore in all ſuch Caſes, I have great Charity for thoſe who happen to differ from me in Opinion. But when the Wickedneſs or Folly of the Meaſures begins to appear from the fatal Conſequences they have produced, my Charity begins to ceaſe with reſpect to thoſe who perſevere in their Opinions, and refuſe coming into any Method for preventing themſelves or their Succeſſors in this Houſe from being deceived by the ſame Bias towards a Court.

'I have, Sir, as great an Opinion as any Gentleman can, as any Gentleman ought to have, of the Honour and Impartiality of thoſe who are Members of either Houſe of Parliament; but it is arguing againſt common Senſe, common Reaſon, and common Experience, to pretend, that no Member of this Houſe will be biaſſed in his Opinion, or influenced in his Voting, by 500 or 1000, or perhaps 5000*l.* a Year. It has in all Countries and in all Ages been held as an eſtabliſhed Maxim, that no Man ought to be allowed to ſit as Judge, or even as a Juryman, in any Cauſe where he is to get or loſe by the Event of the Suit; and as we ſit as Judges, almoſt in every Caſe that can come before us, between the People and their Sovereign, or thoſe employed by him in the executive Part of our Government, ſurely no Man ought to be allowed to ſit here, who is to get or loſe the Whole, or the chief Part of his Subſtance, by the Judgment he paſſes upon any Affair depending in this Houſe.

'In former Times, Sir, when we had no ſtanding Army, nor any Officers of our Army kept in continual Pay: When we had no Navy or Ships of War but ſuch as were fitted out when Occaſion required, and commanded by Officers appointed by thoſe that fitted them out: When we had no Exciſes, nor Exciſe Men: When we had few or no Taxes, and as few Tax Gatherers; it was not neceſſary to have any ſuch Law enacted; becauſe no publick Officer then ever thought of getting himſelf choſen a Member

ber of Parliament. Whilſt he remained in Pay, he was obliged to attend the Duty of his Office, and conſequently could neither attend the Buſineſs, nor be choſen a Member of Parliament. This is the true Reaſon why the High Sheriff of a County cannot even now be choſen a Member of this Houſe; and when this Maxim was firſt eſtabliſhed, I am perſuaded, it was a Maxim obſerved with regard to every other publick Officer; but as it was eſtabliſhed by Common Law, or, as the Lawyers call it, Common Reaſon only, it fell by Degrees into Diſuſe, and publick Officers of all Ranks and Degrees may be, and are now choſen Members of Parliament, except High Sheriffs, and ſome few others who have been diſqualified by expreſs Statute. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Thus, Sir, our Conſtitution ſtands at preſent, and as the Number of our publick Officers of all Kinds, and in all Stations, has been of late Years vaſtly increaſed, and is every Day increaſing, as their yearly Profits and Emoluments have been vaſtly augmented, and as their Power is growing every Year more and more extenſive, they have now a great Sway in all our Elections, eſpecially thoſe for our Cities and Boroughs, ſo that in a few Years we may, nay we muſt expect, that a Majority of this Houſe will always conſiſt of ſuch as hold or expect Offices, Places, or private Penſions, at the Pleaſure of the Crown; and what Juſtice or Mercy the People can expect from ſuch a Houſe of Commons, common Senſe, I had almoſt ſaid, common Experience may inſtruct.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, if we have a Mind to preſerve our Conſtitution: If we have a Mind that Parliaments ſhould ever be of any Uſe to the King or his People: If we have a Mind to prevent a Parliament's being a cumberſome Clog to a good King, and a cruel Inſtrument of Oppreſſion in the Hands of a tyrannical one, we muſt paſs a Law for limiting the Number of Officers in this Houſe; and this we ought to be the more ardent to have ſpeedily done, becauſe if we are once caught in the Snare, it will be impoſſible for us ever to eſcape; for if a Majority of this Houſe ſhould ever once come to conſiſt of a Majority of Officers and Placemen, it is not to be ſuppoſed, they would paſs a Bill for their own Excluſion. Upon the contrary, if they ſhould entertain the leaſt Jealouſy of their not being able to get themſelves, or a Majority of ſuch as themſelves, choſen at a new Election, they would, by the Authority of a late Precedent *, continue themſelves, or they would paſs an Exciſe-Bill, or ſome ſuch Bill, for giving the Crown an abſolute Command over a Ma-

* See the Debate on the Repeal of the Triennial Act, Anno 2. Geo. I. 1716.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

jority of our Elections; and thereby eſtabliſh an arbitrary Power of the moſt expenſive, cruel, and tyrannical Kind, I mean an arbitrary Power ſupported by a corrupt Parliament and a numerous mercenary Army. To prevent this, Sir, I riſe up to ſecond the Motion made by my worthy Friend. I ſhall always endeavour to prevent it by my Vote in this Houſe, and if ever it ſhould become neceſſary, by the Riſk of my Life and Fortune in the Field.

Edward Walpole, Eſq; ſpoke next to the following Effect:

Sir,

Mr Edw. Walpole.

'As I have ſometimes converſed with ſome of our young Lawyers, who are more ready than the old ones to communicate their Knowledge without a Fee, I have from them learned this Maxim, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.* This I take to be a good Maxim with Regard to Law, and I take it to be no leſs a good one with regard to Politicks. We know, we have for many Ages experienced the Happineſs of our preſent Conſtitution; but no Man can foretel what will be the Conſequences of any material Alteration; for which Reaſon I am, and ſhall always be againſt an Alteration, or what the Projectors are always pleaſed to call an Amendment, unleſs I have very ſenſibly felt the Inconvenience of what is propoſed to be amended. In the preſent Caſe, perhaps my Want of Feeling may proceed from my Want of Experience; but young as I am, as I have the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe, I think myſelf bound to judge for myſelf, and not to pin my Faith upon the Feeling or Experience of any other Gentleman; and therefore, I hope, I ſhall be excus'd if I differ from the two Hon. Gentlemen who have made and ſeconded this Motion.

'I ſhall readily admit it to be a right Maxim in private Affairs, not to allow any Man to ſit as a Judge in a Cauſe where he has an Intereſt in the Event of the Suit. This, I ſay, Sir, is a right Maxim in private Affairs; but in thoſe relating to the Publick it is impoſſible to admit it; for every Man of the Society muſt have an Intereſt in every Thing that relates to the Society in general; and beſides this general Intereſt, there is hardly any Thing comes before us, in which the private Intereſt of many amongſt us has not a particular Concern upon one Side or other. In one of the moſt important Kinds of Affairs that comes before this Aſſembly, every Man has a private Intereſt in being againſt what is propoſed by the Court. When I ſay this, Sir, I believe, you will readily ſuppoſe, I mean the Buſineſs of granting Money for the

the publick Service. As this Money must be raised upon the Subject, every Subject, and consequently every Member of this House must have a private Interest in refusing the Grant; and it is certain, that nothing but his Regard for the publick Welfare, or his Expectation of some Favour from the Crown, can prevail with him to consent to a publick Grant, which must necessarily take from him some Part of his private Property. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'In passing of Laws, Sir, the Case is the same. There was never, I believe, a Law passed in this House, which did not some way or other injure the Property, the Privilege, or the Friends or Relations of some of the Members; and many Laws have been proposed here, which were inconsistent with the publick Good, but tended to promote the Interest of some of the Members. In all such Cases nothing but a superior Regard for the publick Good, or an Expectation of some Favour from the Crown, can tempt Men to vote against their private Interest. And even in Cases where private Interest can have no Concern, the Satisfaction of private Passions, such as Resentment, (just or unjust, makes no Difference) Malice, Envy, and the like, must always become a Sort of private Interest or Motive with many Gentlemen in this House, to oppose what is proposed by Ministers, or to propose or support what may tend to distress their Measures; and nothing but a superior Regard for the publick Good, or an Expectation of some Favour from the Crown, can prevail with such Men to act contrary to what would give them such an exquisite Pleasure as the Gratification of any violent Passion.

'In all these Cases, I hope, Gentlemen's Concern for the publick Good, is generally such a prevailing Motive as to overcome every Motive of a private Nature; but however generally this may be the Case, our Constitution has not trusted entirely to it; and therefore it has provided the Crown with the Disposal of all Honours, and many other Favours, to be distributed as a Reward to those who, in all their Actions, shew a disinterested Regard for the public Good, or as a Temptation to the Selfish and Interested for drawing them off from factious Measures, or for inducing them to join with the Government in such Measures, as are really calculated for the Service of the Publick. This, I say, Sir, has been provided by our Constitution, and in my humble Opinion, it is a most wise and necessary Provision; for, I believe, it would be impossible for the most prudent and just Administration, to govern such a numerous Assembly, and to prevent its being often influenced by Faction, if the Crown had no such Favours to bestow.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that thoſe Favours may ſometimes be miſapplied: They may by ſome Adminiſtrations be beſtowed upon thoſe only that ſhew a blind Obedience to Miniſters, without any Regard to the Publick; and this may enable Miniſters to get ſome Things paſſed in Parliament, which would otherwiſe have been rejected with Diſdain; but if Miniſters were forming Deſigns againſt the publick Liberty, or purſuing Meaſures that manifeſtly tend to the Ruin of the Nation, I do not believe, that all the Favours the Crown has now to beſtow, could procure a Parliamentary Approbation of ſuch Deſigns, or Meaſures; becauſe nothing but private Intereſt could prevail with Men to approve of ſuch Meaſures or Deſigns, and every Man, qualified to be a Member of this Houſe, would find a private Intereſt in oppoſing them, I mean the Preſervation of his own Eſtate; and that he would look upon as an Intereſt ſuperior to any Penſion, Place, or Office, the Crown could beſtow; for he would conſider, that if the Nation were ruined, his private Eſtate would be ſunk in the general Deſolation; or if an abitrary Government was ſet up, his Property in his Eſtate would become precarious; and every Man of common Senſe will prefer an Eſtate of 300, or 600*l.* a Year, ſecured by the Laws of a limited Government to him and his Poſterity, I ſay every Man of common Senſe will prefer ſuch an Eſtate to an Eſtate, Salary, or Penſion, of ten Times the Value, depending upon the Will of an arbitrary Sovereign.

'We have no Occaſion therefore, Sir, to dread the Introduction of arbitrary Power, from any Number of Officers being Members of this Houſe, as long as thoſe Officers are poſſeſſed, in their own Right, of Eſtates of more Value than any precarious Poſt or Penſion the Crown can beſtow, and this we have already provided for ſufficiently by expreſs Statute; but if we were to exclude all or the greateſt Part of our Officers, civil and military, from having Seats in this Houſe, it would, in my Opinion, certainly introduce Anarchy, which muſt neceſſarily be followed by arbitrary Power in ſome Shape or other; for if the Crown had no Power to reward any Member of this Houſe for ſhewing a diſintereſted Zeal for the publick Service, nor any Temptation to throw in the Way of the Selfiſh or Factious, it would often be impoſſible to obtain the Conſent of ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, even to the moſt neceſſary Meaſures of Government; and the Wheels of Government being thus entirely ſtopp'd, a State of Anarchy would enſue, in which Caſe we may ſuppoſe, that all our Officers, civil and military, would rank themſelves upon the Side of the Crown,

Crown; and the Members of this Houſe being without Intereſt or Character, either in our Fleets or Armies, we may eaſily judge what the Conſequences would be; for if the Gentlemen concerned in the executive Part of our Government, ſhould once perceive it to be impoſſible to carry on our publick Affairs, by the Authority of what ſome Gentlemen are pleaſed to call an independent Parliament, they would certainly join with the Crown in laying Parliaments entirely aſide. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Having mentioned, Sir, what ſome Gentlemen are pleaſed to call an independent Parliament, I muſt obſerve, that they ſeem thereby to mean an Aſſembly of Men, no one of whom is governed or biaſſed in the leaſt by any Regard to his own Intereſt or Advancement in the World, and that this Aſſembly ſhould be choſe by Electors as diſintereſted as themſelves; ſuch a Choice, Sir, as well as ſuch an Aſſembly I muſt look on as altogether *Utopian* and imaginary: We may pleaſe our Imagination with ſuch Repreſentation, but no ſuch Thing had ever any real Exiſtence. Therefore, I ſhall always call a Parliament independent, if no violent or forcible Means are uſed for compelling the Electors, or the Members, to vote according to the Directions of him that makes uſe of ſuch Means; and it is by ſuch Means only that our Conſtitution can be overturned; for mercenary Conſiderations alone, without the Interpoſition of any compulſive Method, will never tempt Men to conſent to what would render thoſe very Conſiderations precarious, which would be the infallible Conſequence of overturning our Conſtitution and eſtabliſhing arbitrary Power; therefore, I ſhall never think our Liberties in any Danger, as long as the Crown neither has it in its Power, nor attempts to make uſe of any violent Method for directing any Man's Vote either at Elections or in Parliament. The Expectation of a Reward may induce a Man to vote with the Court in Queſtions that are doubtful, and where it is not quite evident to him, which Side of the Queſtion is moſt for the Publick Good; but when the Court Side of the Queſtion is apparently inconſiſtent with the Publick Good, or almoſt directly tending to the Overthrow of our happy Conſtitution, tho' I have no very great Opinion of the Virtue or publick Spirit of Mankind, I have ſo good an Opinion of their common Senſe, that I am convinced, no mercenary Expectation could prevail upon a Man of any Fortune or Figure in his Country to vote with the Court in ſuch a Queſtion. Nothing but the Fear of loſing his Life, his Liberty, or his private Eſtate could in ſuch a Caſe prevail; and as long

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

long as no ſuch Method is attempted to be made uſe of, we have nothing to fear from the Honours or Offices in the Diſpoſal of the Crown. By a cautious and prudent Diſtribution of thoſe Honours and Offices amongſt the Members of this Houſe, the Ends of Faction may be diſappointed, but the Conſtitution can never be overturned.

'I hope it will now appear, Sir, that this Queſtion is not of ſo clear a Nature as the Gentlemen who moved it ſeem to imagine. It is a Queſtion of ſuch a perplexed Nature, that it is very excuſable in any Gentleman to change his Sentiments with regard to it; and therefore, if any Gentleman ſhould now appear againſt it, who formerly appeared to be for it, it would be very uncharitable to conclude, that this Alteration in his Conduct proceeded from an Alteration in his Situation. We ought in Charity to ſuppoſe, that his Sentiments with reſpect to it are really changed; and I believe, every Gentleman who is transferred from being a Country Gentleman to be a Miniſter of State, will find more Reaſon for a Change of Sentiments in this Reſpect, than he ever before ſuſpected he ſhould. He will then acquire a Knowledge of Mankind, which he never could before acquire: He will then be able to penetrate further into the private Views by which Men are actuated, and he will ſee how difficult it is, to get a Majority of this Houſe to unite in the moſt prudent and neceſſary Meaſure that can be thought of. This may furniſh him with very ſufficient Reaſons for a real Change in his Sentiments, and if any ſuch Change ſhould appear in this Debate, it ought, I think, to be a ſtrong Argument with all thoſe, who have upon former Occaſions appeared againſt this Queſtion, for adhering to their former Opinion.

'Then, Sir, as to the diſtreſſed Condition which the Affairs of *Europe*, or the Affairs of this Nation are in, I ſhall grant that the Affairs of *Europe* are in a very diſtreſſed Condition at preſent, but as to the Affairs of this Nation, I cannot conceive them to be in any diſtreſſed Condition; and if I did, ſhould avoid inſiſting upon it in ſuch a publick Aſſembly, at a Time when a good Opinion of our Affairs at Foreign Courts, is ſo neceſſary for giving Weight to thoſe Negotiations, we muſt be ſuppoſed to be carrying on, for forming a Confederacy in Oppoſition to the ambitious Views of thoſe that have long been Enemies to publick Liberty. But thank God! whatever may be ſaid by ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, no Foreigner who knows any Thing of this Nation can ſuppoſe, that our Affairs are in any Sort of Diſtreſs. Our publick Credit is ſo well eſtabliſhed that, inſtead of receiving

ceiving a Shock from the preſent Confuſions in *Europe*, it has rather been improv'd; and tho' our Trade may ſuffer a little in one Branch by our preſent War with *Spain*, yet notwithſtanding the Interruption it meets with from *Spaniſh* Privateers, it is certainly now in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever it was in any Time preceeding. We have, 'tis true, ſtill remaining a great Load of publick Debts; but this is not owing to any Miſmanagement at home, but to the many Broils we have been of late Years engaged in by the Ambition of Foreign Courts, and to the great Tenderneſs both his late and preſent Majeſty have ſhewn towards their People, eſpecially the Landed Intereſt. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Our own Affairs therefore, Sir, can afford no Argument for ſhewing, that ever our Parliament has been prevailed on by a corrupt Influence to approve of any wrong Meaſures; and as to the Affairs of *Europe*, tho' they are at preſent in great Confuſion, I am ſure, it can no Way be imputed to any Miſconduct in our Adminiſtration. Will any Gentleman pretend, that our War with *Spain* was provoked by any raſh Step in our Miniſters? Can it be ſaid, that we gave Encouragement to the King of *Pruſſia*, or the Elector of *Bavaria*, to attack the Queen of *Hungary*; or that we encouraged the *French* to ſend their Troops into *Germany*, or the *Spaniards* to ſend their Troops into *Italy*? Are not all the Confuſions in *Europe* owing to the Ambition or Obſtinacy of Foreign Courts, and not to any Miſconduct of ours? Has not our Court tried all the Methods that could be thought of, for preventing or putting an End to thoſe Confuſions? The Parliament had therefore good Reaſon to approve of all our Foreign Meaſures, and conſequently that Approbation could not be owing to their Judgments being biaſſed, or their Votes directed, by any Favours enjoyed, or expected from the Crown.

'Therefore, Sir, as we have never ſuffered any Prejudice from the Number of Officers in this Houſe: As we have no Reaſon to apprehend Danger from any Number that can be in it, in any future Parliament; and, as I think, that the excluding them from Seats in this Houſe would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution, I muſt be againſt the Motion.

Lord *Strange* * ſpoke in Favour of the Motion.

Sir,

'As we ſeem to improve every Day in thoſe Doctrines that are introductory of arbitrary Power, the Doctrine of Corruption has this Day been puſhed farther than ever, I believe Lord Strange.

* Eldeſt Son of the Earl of Derby.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

believe, it was in this Houſe. It has been repreſented not only as a harmleſs but a neceſſary Implement of Government; and all the Laws we have for excluding Penſioners, and ſeveral Sorts of Officers, from having Seats in this Houſe, may, by the ſame Sort of Reaſoning, be proved to be ſubverſive of our Conſtitution, and introductory of Anarchy, Confuſion, and arbitrary Power. If a Gentleman of a ſmall Eſtate, or of an Eſtate, however large, that cannot ſupply the Wants of his Luxury or Avarice, cannot be ſuppoſed capable of being induced, by any mercenary Motive the Crown can throw in his Way, to conſent to Grants or Regulations, or to approve of Meaſures that tend towards the Introduction of arbitrary Power, or that appear to be inconſiſtent with the publick Good, why ſhould we exclude Penſioners, why ſhould we exclude the Commiſſioners and Officers of our Cuſtoms and Exciſe, from having Seats in this Houſe? If the Power of granting pecuniary and mercenary Rewards to Members be ſo neceſſary for the managing of this Houſe, and for anſwering the neceſſary Ends of Government, why ſhould we in any Reſpect abridge that Power, which, if never ſo extenſive, can do us no Harm, and which, if too much abridged, may overſet both our Government and Conſtitution? Surely, no Man of common Senſe would make the leaſt Approach towards a Precipice, if he could keep his Diſtance without the leaſt Danger or Inconvenience; therefore, if we admit this Doctrine, we muſt ſuppoſe thoſe Parliaments void of common Senſe, in which the Laws we now have for excluding Penſioners and ſeveral Sorts of Officers were agreed to.

'But Experience in all Ages and all Countries, Sir, muſt convince us, that this Doctrine is falſe, deceitful and pernicious. In all Countries where arbitrary Power ever was, or is now ſet up, Corruption was the Footſtool upon which it mounted into the Throne. By Corruption Men are induced to arm their Magiſtrates, or ſupreme Magiſtrate, with ſuch Powers as enable them to deſtroy, firſt the Eſſence, and afterwards the very Face of publick Liberty. Whilſt arbitrary Power is in its Infancy, and creeping up by Degrees to Man's Eſtate, no Doubt it will, it muſt refrain from Acts of Violence and Compulſion. It will by Bribery gain the Conſent of thoſe it has not as yet got Strength enough to compel; but when it is by Bribery grown up to its full Strength and Vigour, even Bribery itſelf will be neglected, and whoever then oppoſes its Views will be ruined, either by open Violence, or falſe Informations, and cook'd up Proſecutions.

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' I ſhall grant, Sir, that if the Queſtion were put in plain and direct Terms, no Man, or at leaſt very few, would agree to give up their Property in their Eſtates, for the Sake of a much greater Eſtate or Penſion, depending upon the Will of an arbitrary Sovereign. But ſuch a Queſtion never was, nor ever will be put by thoſe who aim at arbitrary Power. They always find ſpecious Pretences for ſome new Power, or ſome little Increaſe of Power, and then another new Power, or another little Increaſe of Power, till at laſt their Power becomes by Degrees uncontroulable; and Men of corrupt Hearts are, by mercenary Motives, prevented from conſidering or foreſeeing the Conſequences of the new or additional Powers they grant. It is, I think, highly probable, that *Julius Cæſar* had laid the Scheme of enſlaving his Country, before he obtained the Province of *Trans-Alpine Gaul.* For this Purpoſe he rightly judged, that it was neceſſary to get a great Army under his Command, and by his Continuance in Succeſs in that Command, to render that Army more attached to him than to the Laws and Liberties of their Country. For obtaining that Command, and for continuing in it, he knew he muſt depend upon the Votes of his Fellow Citizens; and that for his Succeſs in it he muſt depend upon his own Conduct. If he had told his Fellow Citizens that he wanted from them ſuch an Army as might enable him to oppreſs the Liberties of his Country, they would certainly have refuſed it: Notwithſtanding the Avarice, Luxury, and Selfiſhneſs then prevailing amongſt them, he could not by all his Bribery have got them to agree to ſuch a direct Queſtion. He therefore at firſt propoſed to them only to give him the Command of *Cis-Alpine Gaul*, with *Illyria* annexed, which by Bribery, and by having inſinuated himſelf into great Favour with the People, he obtained, and by the ſame Means he got the *Trans-Alpine Gaul* added to it. This gave him the Command of a great Army, and the People being blinded by his Largeſſes and his Succeſſes, they continued him in that Command till he made his Army ſo abſolutely his own, that it eſtabliſhed him in arbitrary Power, and ſo effectually deſtroyed the Liberties of the People, that they could never again be reſtored; for the ſhort Interval between his Death and the Eſtabliſhment of his Succeſſor, *Auguſtus Cæſar*, was no free or regular Government, but a continued Series of Uſurpation, Murder, and Civil War.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

' If the People of *Rome*, Sir, had foreſeen the Conſequences of their Favours to *Julius Cæſar*, they would certainly have refuſed granting him ſo many; but they were

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An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ſo blinded by their Corruption, that they did not conſider the Conſequences. This deſtroyed irrecoverably that glorious Republick; and this will deſtroy every Republick, where any one Man has Wealth or Power enough to corrupt a great Number of People. Let us conſider, Sir, in what Liberty and Property truly conſiſts, and we ſhall ſee, that where any one Man has in his Power a large Fund for Corruption, both may be abſolutely deſtroyed, and an arbitrary Power eſtabliſhed, before People become generally ſenſible of their Danger. A Man's Liberty conſiſts in its not being in the Power of any Man or Magiſtrate, with Impunity, to impriſon or kill him, or inflict any perſonal Puniſhment upon him, unleſs he has been formally tried, and juſtly condemned by that Method of Trial, and by thoſe Laws, which have been eſtabliſhed, and are approved of by the Majority of the Society to which he belongs. Property again conſiſts in a Man's being ſecure of enjoying, and tranſmitting to his Poſterity, what has been left to him by his Anceſtors, or acquired by his own Induſtry, unleſs the Whole, or ſome Part of it, be taken from him, in Purſuance of Laws that have been eſtabliſhed, and are approved by the Majority of the Society to which he belongs. Whilſt this is the Caſe, every Man of the Society enjoys Liberty and Property in their full Extent; and this will be our Caſe as long as our Elections and Parliaments remain free from any Influence, either compulſive or corrupt.

'But ſuppoſe, Sir, a Majority of our Houſe of Commons conſiſted of ſuch as held lucrative Places from the Crown, and ſuppoſe a Judge were to be brought before them, who, for the Sake of ſome corrupt Conſideration, had, at the Deſire of the Crown, illegally and unjuſtly condemned and impriſoned many of his Fellow Subjects; would not the Crown, I mean the Miniſters of the Crown, endeavour to protect ſuch a Judge? Would not they give Hints to their Officers in this Houſe, that a Diſmiſſion would be the certain Conſequence of their giving a Vote againſt this Tool of a Judge? And can we ſuppoſe, that many of thoſe Officers would chuſe to loſe a Place of 500 *l.* or 1000 *l.* a Year, rather than give a Vote in Favour of this Judge? Sir, I have a very great Opinion of our preſent Judges, but without any Reflection upon them, I will ſay, that it is upon the Independency and Integrity of our Parliaments that we muſt depend for the Integrity and Impartiality of our Judges; for the Crown has many Ways to reward a pliable Judge, and as many to puniſh an obſtinate one: Nay,

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if Parliaments were once become dependent upon the Crown, an obſtinate Integrity would of itſelf be ſufficient for getting a Judge removed by the Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament; for if the Majority of Parliament were ſuch as depended upon the Crown for getting or holding ſome lucrative Employment, they would be eaſily perſuaded, that ſuch a Judge had done Injuſtice to the Crown, or had fomented Sedition by ſhewing Favour to the Seditious, and under this Pretence, they would vote for addreſſing to remove him, without conſidering, that they thereby eſtabliſhed arbitrary Power, and made not only their own Eſtates, but their Lives and Liberties dependent upon the arbitrary Will of their Sovereign; for by this Precedent all our Judges would be convinced, that they muſt take Directions from the Miniſters of the Crown in all Proſecutions, Trials, and Cauſes that might afterwards come before them; and what Man could ſay, he had any Liberty or Property left, if the Miniſters of the Crown had it in their Power to take his Life, Liberty, or Eſtate from him, whenever they pleaſed, by a falſe Accuſation, and a mock Trial? An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Even after ſuch a fatal Turn in our Conſtitution, as long as a Spirit of Corruption prevailed among the People, and the Court kept within the Bounds of common Decency, there would be no Occaſion for any compulſive Methods either at Elections or in Parliament, becauſe the Miniſters would always find People enough that would be ready to take their Money or their Favours, and in Expectation or Return would agree to vote as directed; but if by the ridiculous Conduct of the Court a Spirit of Liberty ſhould ariſe among the People, the violent and compulſive Methods uſual in ſuch Caſes would be made uſe of. Informers, or *Dilatores*, as the *Romans* called them, would be found out and retained, and ſpread over the whole Nation, in order to bring falſe Informations againſt thoſe who dared to oppoſe the Court either at Elections or in Parliament; and in both, Men would be forced to vote according to the Directions of a Miniſter, in order to preſerve that Property by a ſlaviſh Subjection, which they had before been endeavouring to encreaſe by a villainous Corruption.

'After what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope, I need not particularly mention all the other Methods, by which a corrupt dependent Parliament may ſap the Foundations of our Conſtitution: Enſnaring Laws may be made, or the Laws we have for ſecuring our Liberties may be repealed or ſuſpended, upon various Pretences, without a corrupt Man's being ſenſible, that he is thereby expoſing his own Eſtate to the precarious

Tenure

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. Tenure of Arbitrary Power. On Pretence of a ſham Plot or a pretended Diſaffection, the *Habeas Corpus* Act, that Corner Stone of our Liberties, may be ſuſpended for a Twelvemonth, and under the ſame Pretence that Suſpenſion may be renewed for another, and a third Twelvemonth, till at laſt the annual Suſpenſion of that ſalutary Law may go as glibly down as the Mutiny or Malt-Tax Bill now does; for when theſe two Bills were firſt introduced, no Man ſuppoſed, they would ever become Bills of Courſe, to be paſſed without Oppoſition in every ſucceeding Seſſion of Parliament.

'The keeping up a ſtanding Army in this Iſland in Time of Peace, was always till the Revolution deemed inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. Since that Time, indeed, we have always thought, that the keeping up of a ſmall Number of regular Troops is neceſſary for preſerving our Conſtitution, or at leaſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment. How far this may be right I ſhall not pretend to determine, but I muſt obſerve, that the famous Scheme for overturning our Conſtitution, which was publiſh'd in the Year 1629, required but 3000 Foot for this Purpoſe; and if King Charles the Firſt had, in the Year 1641, been provided with ſuch a Number of regular Troops, upon whom he might have depended for overawing the Mob of the City of *London*, his Fate, I believe, would have been very different from what it was. I am very far from thinking, that ſuch a very ſmall Number, even now our People are ſo much diſuſed to Arms, would be ſufficient for overturning our Conſtitution; but there is a certain Number which would be infallibly ſufficient for this Purpoſe, and it is not eaſy to determine how near we may now be come to that Number. Now ſuppoſe, we are come within 2 or 3000 of that Number, and that a Miniſter, in order to render his Succeſs againſt our Conſtitution infallible, ſhould upon ſome ſpecious Pretence or other deſire the Parliament to conſent to an Augmentation of 2 or 3000 Men to our Army; can we ſuppoſe that ſuch a ſmall Augmentation, upon a plauſible Pretence, would be refuſed by a Parliament, chiefly compoſed of Officers and Placemen? Can we ſuppoſe, that any Man would riſk his loſing a lucrative Employment, by voting againſt ſuch a ſmall Augmentation? Some Civil Powers to be executed by Civil Officers, and ſome Military Powers to be executed by a Standing Army, or a ſtanding Militia, are certainly neceſſary in all Governments: I am afraid, it is impoſſible to preſerve a free Government, when all thoſe Powers are lodged in one ſingle Man; but when they are not only lodged in one ſingle Man, but greatly increaſed beyond what is neceſſary

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for the Support of a free Government, I am ſure the Freedom of that Government muſt ſoon be at an End; and it is very hard to diſtinguiſh between the Powers neceſſary for the Support of a free Government, and thoſe that are ſufficient for eſtabliſhing an arbitrary one: The Partition is ſo thin that it may eaſily be miſtaken, and certainly will be miſtaken, by moſt of thoſe who are under a Temptation to judge partially in Favour of arbitrary Power.

'This, Sir, muſt convince every true Lover of Liberty, how neceſſary it is, that no Member of this Aſſembly, or at leaſt as few as poſſible, ſhould lie under ſuch a Temptation. I ſhall grant, that in moſt Things that come before this Houſe, ſome of our Members may have a private Intereſt in oppoſing or agreeing to it, but as long as this private Intereſt does not proceed from the Favours they enjoy or expect from the Crown, it can never injure the publick Good; becauſe if ſome have a private Intereſt in oppoſing, others will have a private Intereſt in agreeing to what is propoſed, and thoſe whoſe private Intereſt is no Way concerned, will always caſt the Balance in favour of the publick Good. The granting of Money is the only Caſe where we can ſuppoſe the Members generally engaged, by their private Intereſt, to oppoſe what is neceſſary for the publick Service; but this Intereſt is ſo ſmall with regard to each particular Member, that it can never be of any Weight: This is demonſtrated, Sir, from the whole Courſe of our Hiſtory; for I defy any Man to give me an Inſtance, where the Parliament denied granting what was neceſſary for the publick Service, unleſs they were denied Juſtice with regard to the Redreſs of Grievances, or unleſs they had well grounded Apprehenſions that the Money would be miſapplied.

'But let us ſee, Sir, how this Argument will ſtand upon the other Side of the Queſtion. It is certain, that the Parliament ought never to grant more than is abſolutely neceſſary for the publick Service: It is likewiſe certain, that we never ought to grant even what is neceſſary, till all Grievances be redreſſed, and our former Grants regularly and ſtrictly accounted for. This is our Duty as Members of this Houſe, but ſhall we perform this Duty, if a Majority of us be greatly concerned in Intereſt to neglect it? And this will always be the Caſe, if a Majority of us hold or expect ſome lucrative Office or Employment at the Pleaſure of the Crown; becauſe it will always be the Intereſt of Miniſters, and even their Safety may ſometimes be concerned, in our not performing this Duty. Suppoſe, they aſk from Parliament 500,000 l. or a Million for carrying on ſome whimſical, perhaps pernici-

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An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ous Scheme of their own; will a Member of this Houſe, who is to pay for his Share not above 50 l. of this Sum, refuſe granting it, when he is to get or hold 500 l. or 1000 l. a Year by conſenting to the Grant? Will a Member of this Houſe inſiſt upon firſt redreſſing a Grievance, by which he ſuffers little, perhaps no ſenſible Prejudice, when he is to get or hold 2 or 300 l. a Year by letting it remain? And finally, Sir, will a Member of this Houſe call Miniſters to a ſtrict Account, by which he can never expect to put a Farthing into his own Pocket, when by neglecting to do ſo, he may get or hold a good Poſt or Employment, and perhaps preſerve a round Sum which he himſelf has purloined from the Publick?

'Sir, I was ſorry to hear a young Gentleman talk ſo much of Mens private Paſſions and Affections, and of every Man's having a View to the Service of ſome favourite private Paſſion, in every Vote he gave in Parliament or at Elections. I hope the Caſe is far otherwiſe, but if it is not, we ought to endeavour to make it ſo, by putting it out of the Power (at leaſt as far as we can by ſuch Laws as this) of any Man to ſerve himſelf, by his Way of voting in Parliament or at Elections, any farther than may reſult to him from the general Good of his Country. If we can do this: If we can put it out of the Power of the Selfiſh and Mercenary to ſell their Votes in Parliament, no Man will purchaſe a Seat there at any high Price, and this will of courſe put an End to Bribery and Corruption at Elections; for no mercenary Soul will purchaſe what he cannot ſell, and thoſe who are prompted by their Ambition to purchaſe, will never go to any high Price, nor will they ſubmit to be the Slaves of a Miniſter after they have purchaſed. Even Miniſters themſelves would ceaſe their Bribery at Elections, becauſe they could not depend upon having their Candidate's Vote in Parliament, if he had no lucrative Office depending upon his voting always with the Miniſter; and if the Flood-Gates of the Treaſury were not opened at any Election, I am convinced, we ſhould ſoon have little or no Bribery in the Kingdom.

'Whilſt there are Purchaſers, Sir, there will be Sellers: I am afraid there are at preſent too many of both; but if you can make it worth no Man's while to purchaſe, you will put an End to the Traffick; and this is the Deſign of the Bill now propoſed. I have ſhewn, that if you do not agree to it, there will be, there muſt be a corrupt Dependency in Parliament; that by ſuch a Dependency our Conſtitution may be overturned, without any compulſive Dependency; and

and that the latter may be made uſe of by an arbitrary Government, and certainly will be made uſe of, as ſoon as it becomes neceſſary for the Support of its arbitrary Power. Upon this Side, Sir, the Danger is certain and inevitable; let us then conſider the Danger pretended to be on the other. If we exclude Officers, or the greateſt Part of them, from having Seats in this Houſe, it is ſaid, it will introduce Anarchy and Confuſion, becauſe it will be impoſſible to govern ſuch a numerous Aſſembly as this, without a Power in the Crown to reward thoſe who appear zealous in its Service; and that as ſoon as this Impoſſibility is perceived, all our Officers, civil and military, will join with the Crown in laying aſide the Uſe of Parliaments. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'What the Hon. Gentleman may mean, Sir, by governing ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, I do not know; but according to the common Acceptation of the Word, I ſhould be ſorry to ſee it in the Power of Miniſters to govern either Houſe of Parliament, by any other Method than that of convincing the Majority, that nothing is propoſed or intended but what is for the publick Good; for if either Houſe were to be governed by the Hopes of Reward, I am ſure, it could be of no Service to the People, and of very little even to the Crown itſelf; becauſe the Deſign and Uſe of Parliaments is, that they may be a Check upon the Conduct of Miniſters; and no Man whoſe Behaviour in this Houſe is governed by his Hopes of Reward, will ever ſet himſelf up as a Check upon the Conduct of thoſe who alone can beſtow the Reward he expects. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that Miniſters may prevail with a Majority of this Houſe to approve or agree to what appears to be for the publick Service, without having it in their Power to give a Title, Poſt, or Penſion, to every one that approves of their Meaſures; or otherwiſe we muſt conclude, that no ſuch Houſe ought to exiſt, and, conſequently, that the very Form of a limited Government ought to be aboliſhed in this ſelfiſh and corrupt Nation. What Effect ſome late corrupt Practices may have had upon the Genius and Morals of the lower Sort of People, I do not know; but, I hope, it has as yet had little or no Effect upon the Generality of thoſe that have any Chance of being Members of this Houſe; and unleſs they are become very much degenerated, we muſt from Experience conclude, that when our Miniſters purſue popular and right Meaſures, they may depend upon the Aſſiſtance and Approbation of Parliament. This, I ſay, we muſt from Experience conclude, for in former Ages our Miniſters had but few Rewards to beſtow, and yet they never failed of having the Parliament's

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Approbation, when their Meaſures were ſuch as were agreeable to the People. Nay, from the very Nature of the Caſe we muſt draw the ſame Concluſion; for a Houſe of Commons freely choſen by the People, muſt approve of what the People approves of: If from ſelfiſh Motives they ſhould diſapprove, or oppoſe ſuch Meaſures, the oppoſing Members would be ſure of being turned out at the next Election; and as the King has it in his Power to bring on a new Election whenever he pleaſes, his Miniſters may eaſily get rid of ſuch ſelfiſh, mean ſpirited Members, and may, conſequently, if they deſire it, always have a Parliament generally compoſed of Gentlemen of true Honour and publick Spirit; but the contrary is what moſt Miniſters deſire, as has of late been manifeſt from the Characters of thoſe who were generally ſet up as Candidates upon the Court Intereſt.

'We can never therefore be in Danger of Anarchy or Confuſion, from its not being in the Power of a Miniſter to bribe a Majority of this Houſe into his Meaſures, nor can we ſuppoſe that the People will rechuſe a Majority of thoſe who have, in a former Seſſion, oppoſed what was agreeable to the greateſt Part of their Conſtituents; but when Bribery and corrupt Motives prevail within Doors, they will certainly prevail without, and then we may ſee a Member burnt in Effigy one Year in the publick Streets of his Borough, and rechoſen the Year following as their Repreſentative in a new Parliament: We may ſee the moſt notorious fraudulent Practices carried on by the Underlings in Power, and thoſe Underlings encouraged by the Miniſter, and protected by a Majority in Parliament: We may ſee the moſt unpopular and deſtructive Meaſures purſued by our Miniſters, and all approved, nay applauded by Parliament. Theſe Things we may ſee, Sir: Theſe Things we have ſeen within theſe laſt twenty Years; and this has brought our Affairs both at home and abroad into the melancholy Situation which is now acknowledged by all, and will ſoon, I fear, be ſeverely felt by the whole Nation.

'If the preſent Diſtreſs of our domeſtick Affairs were a Secret, I ſhould avoid mentioning it as much as any Gentleman whatever; but alas! it is no Secret either to our Enemies or Friends; and this makes the former deſpiſe us, and the latter ſhy of entering into any Engagements with us. We may threaten, but our Enemies know, we are unable to carry our Threats into Execution; We may promiſe, but our Friends know, we are unable to perform our Engagements. This Knowledge has made thoſe who are the profeſſed Enemies of publick Liberty more daring in their Attempts, and,

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I am afraid, it will render it impoſſible to form any Confederacy ſufficient for defeating their preſent ambitious Projects; and it is ſo evident that this Misfortune has been brought upon us and *Europe* by our bad OEconomy at home, and our wicked, wrong-headed, or puſillanimous Conduct abroad, that I am ſurpriſed to hear the contrary aſſerted now, when the fatal Conſequencs of our Conduct are become ſo glaring. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Nation has been of late Years involv'd in many Broils, but I will affirm, and it has been fully proved at the reſpective Times thoſe Broils happened, that every one we have been engaged in ſince his late Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, has proceeded from ſome Scheme of our own contriving, or from ſome wrong Step in our own Adminiſtration. I ſhall not trouble you with taking Notice of every Particular, becauſe it would be tedious, and, I think, unneceſſary; therefore I ſhall confine myſelf to the three Wars now carrying on in *Europe*, I mean that between *Spain* and us; that between the Elector of *Bavaria* aſſiſted by the *French*, and the Queen of *Hungary*; and that between the *Swedes* and *Muſcovites*; and I ſhall ſhew, that every one of them proceeded from the ridiculous Conduct of our Miniſters. With regard to the *Spaniſh* War, if our Miniſters had, at the Time of the Treaty of *Seville*, inſiſted upon an Explanation of former Treaties, which had, before that Time, been miſinterpreted by *Spain*: If they had inſiſted upon *Spain*'s giving up her Pretence of viſiting, ſearching, or ſeizing, in Time of Peace, any Ships in the high Seas of *America*, on Account of what they called contraband Goods, I am convinced, the Court of *Spain* would have agreed to give up that Pretence, in the moſt explicit Terms, rather than loſe the Advantages ſtipulated for them by that Treaty. Even after this falſe Step, if our Miniſters had properly reſented the Treatment our Commiſſaries met with at the Court of *Spain*, and had peremptorily inſiſted upon immediate Satisfaction for the firſt Inſult our Merchant Ships met with in the Seas of *America*, the *Spaniſh* Court would have complied, rather than enter into a War with this Nation, at the very Time they were engag'd in a War with the *Emperor* in *Italy*. But inſtead of this, our Miniſters, ever ſince the Year 1720, appeared ſo complaiſant in every Negotiation with that Court, and ſubmitted ſo tamely to every Inſult, that the Court of *Spain* began to imagine, that we would give up the Point in Diſpute, rather than come to an open Rupture with them; and this, I am perſuaded, would have been the Conſequence of the

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

late Convention, if the Indignation of our People had not at last got the better of the Submission of our Ministers. Our present War with *Spain* is, therefore, evidently owing to the ill-timed Complaisance and Pusillanimity of our Ministers, and yet this Complaisance and Pusillanimity was in every Step approved by our Parliaments, and has not even yet been censured, notwithstanding the fatal Consequence it has produced, and the Disappointment of all those Hopes, with which our Ministers so confidently flattered us, that their tedious Negotiations would at last end in an honourable and advantageous Peace.

'Then, Sir, with Regard to the War in *Germany*, even the King of *Prussia*'s invading *Silesia* was owing to the bad Conduct of our Ministers; for if they had insisted upon Satisfaction, with regard to his Claims upon *Silesia*, before they guaranty'd the *Pragmatick Sanction*, they might have obtained a Stipulation for that Purpose from the Court of *Vienna*, which would have prevented that Invasion. But even after this Neglect, they might have prevented the War now carrying on in *Germany*; for the King of *Prussia* offer'd such Terms as ought in Prudence, perhaps in Justice too, to have been accepted by the Court of *Vienna*, and would have been accepted by that Court, if we had insisted upon it as the Condition *sine qua non* of our giving them any Assistance. If we had done this, it is evident from Facts and Dates, that the Elector of *Bavaria* would never have been chosen *Emperor*, nor would he have attack'd the Queen of *Hungary*, and in that Case no *Frenchman* would have enter'd *Germany* in a hostile Manner; for none of the *French* Troops enter'd *Germany*, nor did the Elector of *Bavaria* commit any one Act of Hostility against the Queen of *Hungary*, till the King of *Prussia* was drove into their Alliance by the Obstinacy of the Court of *Vienna*; and that Court was encouraged in their Obstinacy by our Ministers, which I need not trouble you with demonstrating, because it is evident not only from the Papers upon our Table, but also from the Resolution of this House in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, before she had any other declared Enemy beside *Prussia*, and especially from the violent Speeches that were made by some Gentlemen upon that Occasion.

'Having thus shewn, Sir, that it was by the bad Conduct of our Ministers that the *French* and *Bavarians* were encouraged to attack the Queen of *Hungary*, I need not use many Words to prove, that the War between *Sweden* and *Muscovy* is owing to the same Cause; for from the Time that

that War was declared by *Sweden* it is evident, that if the *French* had not reſolved to ſend their Troops into *Germany*, the *Swedes* would not have declared War againſt *Muſcovy*; and conſequently, if the Conduct of our Miniſters was the Cauſe of the *French* reſolving to ſend their Troops into *Germany*, it was the ultimate Cauſe of the *Swedes* declaring War againſt *Muſcovy*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'It is therefore evident, Sir, that not only the preſent Diſtreſſes of this Nation, but all the Diſtreſſes and Confuſions in which *Europe* is at preſent involved, are owing to the late Meaſures of our Adminiſtration; and tho' the Conſequences were not perhaps at firſt ſo viſible as they are at preſent, yet it cannot be ſaid, they were not foretold; for what we now ſee has been often foretold both within Doors and without; and, appeared manifeſt to a great Majority of the Nation, tho' to our great Misfortune it never appeared ſo to a Majority of this Houſe, which I am not at all ſurpriſed at, conſidering the great Number of Placemen and Expectants we had always in this Aſſembly. That any of thoſe Placemen or Expectants were wilfully blind, I ſhall not pretend to ſay: I do believe, that many, if not all of them, were impoſed on by the ſpecious Pretences made uſe of upon each reſpective Occaſion; and I the rather believe ſo, becauſe, I know how eaſy it is to impoſe upon Men, when their own private Intereſt is made the Harbinger of the Deceit; but the Misfortunes we now labour under, and the Evidence from whence thoſe Misfortunes have all proceeded, ought to be a prevailing Argument with us, to prevent any publick Deceit's being hereafter introduced into this Houſe by the ſame Sort of Gentleman-Uſher. That this Bill will be altogether effectual for this Purpoſe, is what I ſhall not pretend to aſſert, but I am convinced, it will have ſome Effect; and as it is the beſt Remedy I can think of at preſent, I am therefore for agreeing to the Motion.

Mr *Philips* ſpoke next to the following Effect; Mr Philips.

Sir,

'As I had the Honour to be one of thoſe that received the Commands of the Houſe laſt Seſſion, to bring in a Bill of this Nature, I can't ſit ſtill, and not teſtify my Approbation of it now. — If ever there was a Time when it was neceſſary to preſerve the Purity of this Houſe, and to guard againſt the Influence that the Enjoyment of Power and Profit is too apt to have on the Minds of Men, this is the Time,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

when the Nation is poor, groaning under the Burden of heavy Taxes, and yet luxurious and extravagant in the Purſuit of Pleaſures. —— Nothing can ſo effectually preſerve this Nation from Ruin, as the maintaining of innate Freedom within theſe Walls, and nothing can ſo effectually attack and get the better of that Freedom, as the Allurements of Places and Offices, which inſenſibly lead Men away from their firſt Reſolves, and at length, by Cuſtom and Example, quite harden and corrupt them. —— A Bill therefore of this Nature, that ſo evidently tends (if you'll give me Leave to uſe the Expreſſion) to lead Men out of Temptation, muſt neceſſarily deliver them from Evil; therefore I heartily concur in the Motion.

Mr Sandys.

Upon this Occaſion Mr *Sandys*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſpoke to the following Purpoſe:

Sir,

'As it is very well known, and, I doubt not, very well remembered, that I had laſt Seſſion the Honour not only to be one of thoſe that received the Commands of this Houſe to bring in ſuch a Bill, as is now propos'd, but was alſo the firſt Mover for it, and as I ſhall now be againſt the Motion, I think myſelf bound in Duty to my Sovereign, to myſelf, to my Country, and to the Liberties of *Europe*, to give my Reaſons for this Change in my Behaviour, which, without an Explanation, might, perhaps, by ſome Gentlemen, be preſumed to proceed from Motives of a mercenary or ambitious Nature; and I muſt begin, Sir, with aſſuring you, that this Change in my Behaviour does not proceed from any Change in my Situation, or from any Change in my Sentiments with regard to the Bill itſelf, but merely from a Change in the Circumſtances of our Affairs both Abroad and at Home.

'With regard to the Neceſſity of our having ſuch a Bill as this paſſed into a Law, my Sentiments are rather confirmed than altered by my Change of Situation; but, I hope, there is no Gentleman in this Houſe ſo deficient in that Reſpect which is due to his Sovereign, as to chuſe to have his Majeſty's Aſſent to any neceſſary Bill rather compelled than freely obtained. When I talk of his Majeſty, Sir, every Gentleman muſt be ſenſible, that my Duty as a Subject, and now as a Servant, obliges me to expreſs myſelf with the greateſt Caution; but as the great King *William* ſometimes altered his Sentiments with regard to Bills in Parliament, I hope, I may ſay, without any Breach of my Duty, that the wiſeſt of Kings are in ſome Caſes too much influenced in their Sentiments, with regard to Bills offered to them by Parliament, by the artful Inſinua-

Inſinuations of thoſe who have accidentally and undeſervedly the Honour of being in their Councils. Tho' his preſent Majeſty's Sentiments, with regard to the Bill now propoſed, were never publickly known: Tho' he never was brought under a Neceſſity to declare them, yet we have great Reaſon to believe, that he was laſt Seſſion prejudiced againſt any ſuch Bill as was then paſſed by this Houſe. This, I believe the Majority of us were then convinced of; but we had then the Misfortnne to be convinced likewiſe, that he had no Man in his Councils who would attempt or preſume to remove thoſe Prejudices. This made it neceſſary for the Parliament to interfere, and by paſſing ſuch a Bill to endeavour to remove thoſe Prejudices, by ſhewing him it was agreeable to his ſupreme, however diſagreeable it might be to his ſubordinate Councils. But thank God! our Circumſtances in this Reſpect are very much altered. I hope, we are all convinced, I am ſure, I am convinced, that his Majeſty has now ſome Gentlemen in his Councils that will take the Liberty to endeavour to remove his Prejudices, by ſhewing that ſuch a Bill as this, no Way incroaches upon his Prerogative, and is abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the Liberties of his People; and as ſoon as they have done this Piece of Service to their Country, I am convinced, they will themſelves propoſe the bringing of ſuch a Bill into this Houſe, which would certainly communicate a more exquiſite Pleaſure to every Man who wiſhes well to our preſent Royal Family, than can be communicated by his Majeſty's bare Aſſent to ſuch a Bill. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that we are obliged, and ought to acknowledge our Gratitude to our Sovereign, even when he does no more than barely give the Royal Aſſent to an uſeful, neceſſary, and popular Bill; but the Obligation is certainly much greater, and will contribute more towards gaining his Majeſty the Affections of his People, when ſuch a Bill flows originally from the Crown itſelf, and is introduced here by thoſe who are the known Servants of the Crown; therefore as this Bill is an uſeful and popular Bill, it muſt be the Deſire of every Gentleman who has a Regard for the preſent Royal Family, that it ſhould come from the Crown itſelf; and as we have great Reaſon to expect this from ſome of thoſe who have been lately introduced into his Majeſty's Councils, as ſoon as they can gain a prevailing Influence there, it is well worth our While to wait a Seſſion or two, for an Event which is ſo much to be wiſhed for by every true Friend to the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.

'Thus, Sir, I have ſhewn ſuch a Difference in the Circumſtances of our Affairs at Home, as ought, I think, to prevail

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

prevail with every Gentleman to ſuſpend, at leaſt for one Seſſion, his Deſire of having ſuch a Law paſſed; and with regard to the Circumſtances of our Affairs Abroad, there is likewiſe a Difference, which ought to be an additional Argument for ſuſpending our Deſires in Favour of this Bill. The Affairs of *Europe* were laſt Seſſion at ſuch a Criſis as demanded the moſt vigorous Reſolutions in our Councils, but we had then the Misfortune to have a Perſon at the Head of our Adminiſtration, from whom we could expect no ſuch Reſolution. From his Influence we could expect nothing but an inglorious Peace, or a ſham War. In theſe Circumſtances a Conteſt with our Sovereign could be no Detriment, but might be of great Advantage to the Nation, becauſe it could produce nothing of worſe Conſequence than ſuch a Peace or War as was to be expected from that Miniſter's Conduct, and it might produce a Change in our Adminiſtration. This was a Reaſon for our puſhing the Bill at that Time, even tho' known to be contrary to our Sovereign's Inclination. His Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and his Regard for the Cries of his People, at laſt prevailed: The obnoxious Perſons were removed from the Adminiſtration, and in their Stead have been put ſome Gentlemen, from whom we may expect the moſt wiſe as well as the moſt vigorous Meaſures with regard to our Foreign Affairs. They have already given us Teſtimonies both of their Wiſdom and Reſolution. From their Conduct, ſupported by a perfect Harmony between his Majeſty and his Parliament, we may expect a glorious Peace, or a vigorous and ſucceſsful War; and therefore, we ought to be extremely cautious of doing any Thing that may interrupt that Harmony; becauſe ſuch an Interruption can now be attended with no Advantage either to this Nation or to *Europe*, but would certainly expoſe both to a Ruin which might otherwiſe have been prevented.

'Now, Sir, let us conſider the Circumſtances in which we ſtand at preſent. We have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that this Bill has been repreſented to his Majeſty, by ſome of thoſe that were lately about him, as an Incroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, and a Step towards introducing a Republican Form of Government. We have Reaſon to believe, that by ſuch Miſrepreſentations his Majeſty has conceived ſome Prejudices againſt it; and we cannot ſuppoſe, that thoſe who have ſo lately been introduced into his Councils, have yet had Time to eradicate thoſe Prejudices. If this Bill ſhould be offered to him for his Aſſent, whilſt he remained under ſuch Prejudices, he would look upon it as a moſt ungrateful Return from

from a Parliament to which he had made ſuch a Sacrifice: Nay, he would look upon it as an Attempt upon his Crown, and an Affront to his Perſon; and in ſuch a Caſe, from his Majeſty's known Courage and high Spirit, muſt we not ſuppoſe, that he would reject it with the utmoſt Diſdain?

'This, Sir, would certainly produce a Rupture between his Majeſty and his Parliament; and in the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, I tremble to think of the Conſequences of ſuch a Rupture. What has hitherto been the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, what has encouraged her Subjects to venture their Lives and Fortunes ſo bravely, I may ſay, ſo deſperately, in her Defence, has been the Hopes that Aſſiſtance would at laſt come from afar, even from the remoteſt Corners of the *Britiſh* Dominions. But if ſuch a Rupture ſhould enſue, what could ſhe or her Subjects expect from us? Inſtead of being able to aſſiſt her, we ſhould be involved in endleſs Diſputes, perhaps in a tedious and deſtructive Civil War amongſt ourſelves: Thus that brave and heroick Queen would at laſt be obliged to ſubmit to the Power of *France*; and *Polyphemus*'s Favour, of our being the laſt Morſel, would be the only one we could expect from that inſolent Nation.

'For theſe Reaſons, Sir, tho' I am as great a Friend as ever to the Bill now propoſed, tho' I ſhall be ready to embrace the firſt favourable Opportunity for having it paſſed into a Law, yet I am againſt puſhing for it at preſent, eſpecially as I have, I think, good Reaſon to believe, that I ſhall in a very ſhort Time have the Pleaſure of ſeeing it readily agreed to by every Branch of our Legiſlature.

Mr *Velters Cornwall* replied to the following Effect: Mr Velters Cornwall.

Sir,

'Notwithſtanding what has been alledg'd, I ſhall take the Freedom to ſpeak my Opinion of this Bill and of the preſent Meaſures; and I do aſſure the Houſe, I have had no Share in the Scramble for Places. My Political Ambition, according to the old Expreſſion, has *coſt me many a grey Groat*; it has brought me nothing. A Gentleman has ſaid, that if the Lords had expected this Return, they had not paſs'd the laſt * Bill. We have nothing to do with the Lords,

* The Author of a late Pamphlet, call'd FACTION DETECTED, who, if he was not Himſelf principally concern'd in the Direction of Affairs, at the Grand Criſis in February 1741, [See Vol. XIII.] was at leaſt furniſh'd with Materials by thoſe who were, gives the following Account of this Bill. He begins with obſerving, That the Crown and the Lords are known to be jealous of the Growth of the Popular Intereſt;

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Lords, nor any Reaſon to conſult their Approbation or Diſlike. The Gentleman too makes a Merit of having conducted that Bill in this Houſe, and been the Means of its paſſing. Don't let him take all the Merit to himſelf. I was one of * thoſe who had the Honour to receive the Commands of the Houſe to bring in that Bill, who help'd to conduct it, and to procure that Benefit to the People of *England* which they expect from it. I too, Sir, perhaps, help'd to bring him into the great Honour and Employments he now enjoys. If I had ever ſolicited a Place, that Gentleman muſt have known it, but I have been only one of the Rounds of the Ladder by which that Gentleman climb'd; and now his Turn is ſerv'd, like ſome others, he is for kicking the Ladder away.

'You, Sir, [*Turning to Mr Speaker*] have ſet us extremely right, as you always do every Thing extremely well: — And I agree we muſt ſay, that every Gentleman here is a Man of ſtrict Uniformity and great Honour. — I beg I may not be thought Ironical. —— Now, Sir, as to Inſtructions from our Conſtituents, ſuppoſe my Inſtructions contained a Deſire that I would be for a Place-Bill, ſuppoſe I had promiſed to be for it, and yet exerted my utmoſt Abilities againſt it. —— Abroad, Sir, we ſee many ſtrange Things; within theſe Doors, according to your Admonition, we muſt ſee none. —— Imagine now, Sir, I had a young Gentleman or Pupil to adviſe in the Regulation of his Conduct, and he ſhould apply to me to know by whoſe Advice to form his Opinion of publick Affairs? I ſhould ſay to him, Pri'thee, haſt thou no Friend nor Acquaintance whoſe Advice thou canſt rely on, and in whoſe Integrity thou canſt confide; apply to thy Repreſentatives, ſurely they won't deceive

tereſt; and, that it is by mutual Jealouſies of this Kind, that our Conſtitution can alone ſubſiſt. —— That therefore the only Method that could be taken with any Proſpect of Succeſs, was to enter into a tacit Treaty with the Lords, to agree upon ſome Bill of this Nature, which they ſhould previouſly engage not to reject. —— That the Lords agreed to this: — They conſented not to oppoſe a Law, that ſhould exclude above thirteen conſiderable Employments then actually enjoyed by Members of Parliament, and above two hundred ſmaller Offices; which, by conferring three or four upon one Perſon, might have made a vaſt Number of additional Preferments, a Thing ſtill in the Power of the Crown, notwithſtanding any former Laws, to have done. —— But at the ſame Time, they abſolutely declared they would go no further at that Time, till they had ſeen how far this would operate upon the Conſtitution. P. 57.

* Mr Pulteney, Mr Sandys, Mr Cornewall, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Mr Philips, Mr Cholmondeley, and Lord Gage, were the Gentlemen appointed by the Houſe to bring in this Bill. See Vol. xiii. p. 223.

ceive thee; for if People can't truſt their Repreſentatives, whom can they truſt. Parallel to this would be the Caſe of a Member for a City, to whom Inſtructions conformable to his conſtant Advice ſhould be delivered, he ſhould receive them, promiſe to obſerve them, and not to deceive thoſe who had choſen him for their Repreſentative; but ſhortly after, having alter'd his own Meaſures, ſhould call his Conſtituents a Parcel of Fools, and totally diſregard what they ſay to him: When one obſerves theſe Tranſactions, what muſt one ſay? I ſhould incline to follow the Example of the Play-Houſe, and cry out in the Phraſe of Mr *John Trott*, *Gentlemen, have a Care of your Pockets.*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Sir *John Barnard* ſpoke to the following Effect: Sir J. Barnard.

Sir,

'From what has been ſaid by ſome Gentlemen in the Debate, I foreſee, that if our Parliaments continue, in Time to come, as complaiſant to our Miniſters as they have been in Time paſt, the Fate of this Queſtion under this Adminiſtration, will be the ſame with that which was the Fate of the Queſtion about reducing our Army under the laſt. The worthy Gentleman who was at the Head of our former Adminiſtration, and is now ſo deſervedly ſent to the other Houſe, had, whilſt he was a Country Gentleman, ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed * keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, that after he became a Miniſter, tho' Exceſs of Modeſty could never be reckoned among his Foibles, he had not the Aſſurance directly to oppoſe a Reduction. No, Sir, during the firſt Part of his Adminiſtration he always declared himſelf for a Reduction, as ſoon as a favourable Opportunity ſhould offer; but he always endeavoured to ſhew, that the preſent was not a proper Opportunity, and at laſt both he and his Friends gathered Aſſurance enough to tell us, that even in Times of the moſt profound Tranquility, a greater Number of regular Troops was, and always would be neceſſary, than that he had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the Year 1717, when there was the higheſt Probability of our going to be engaged in a War both with *Sweden* and *Spain*.

'This, Sir, was the Conduct of our former Miniſter, with regard to the annual Queſtion about reducing our Army,

* In the Year 1717, the Sum of 681,618 l. which had been voted, in the Committee of Supply, for maintaining the Land-Forces, was upon the Report thereof to the Houſe, reduc'd to 650,000 l. And this principally through the Oppoſition of Mr R. Walpole, who had ſome little Time before reſign'd his Places. — See Chandler's Hiſtory, Anno 4. Geo. I. p. 172.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

my, and this, I could almoſt lay a Wager, will be the Conduct held by our preſent Miniſters with regard to the bringing in and paſſing this Bill. They cannot directly oppoſe a Bill which they have upon former Occaſions ſo often and ſo ſtrenuouſly patronized; but tho' laſt Seſſion did, yet this Seſſion does not, it ſeems, afford us a proper Opportunity for applying a Remedy to an Evil, which, they themſelves allow, has brought *Europe*, as well as this Nation, to the Brink of Deſtruction; and this, I am afraid, will be their Way of reaſoning, as long as they continue Miniſters, or at leaſt till they become as hardened as their Predeceſſor, which they may probably do, if they continue as long in Power, and then like him, they will freely declare, that they have actually changed their Sentiments, and that no ſuch Bill ought ever to be paſſed.

'I would not have any Thing of what I have ſaid, Sir, applied to the Hon. Gentleman who formerly uſed to ſit very near me, and whoſe Aſſiſtance I have often had in Matters which I thought might tend to the Advantage or Security of my Country. As for him, I do not doubt his Sincerity, but I very much doubt his Influence, and therefore if his Majeſty has been unjuſtly and wickedly prejudiced againſt this Bill, I am afraid, we muſt wait a very long Time, if we reſolve to wait till thoſe Prejudices be removed by his Influence. But whatever be his Majeſty's Way of thinking about this Bill, it is what we have nothing to do with. As Members of this Houſe we ought to agree to every Bill we think neceſſary, without regard to our Sovereign's Way of thinking; becauſe in Duty to him, we ought to ſuppoſe, that his Sentiments will always be right; and if he ſhould refuſe the Royal Aſſent to a Bill which we think abſolutely neceſſary for the Security of our Liberties, we ought in the very next Seſſion to take that Method for having it paſs'd into a Law, which was taken in King *William*'s Time with regard to the Triennial Bill. I queſtion much if it was a Change of Sentiments that made King *William* paſs that Bill. On the contrary, I am apt to believe, both the King's and his Miniſters Sentiments were the ſame with what they had been the preceding Seſſion; but as the Bill was paſſed by both Houſes the very Beginning of the enſuing Seſſion, and before this Houſe had granted the neceſſary Supplies, that wiſe King foreſaw, that, in the Humour this Houſe was in, he could expect no more Supplies if he refuſed to paſs that Bill, and therefore he prudently complied with the Deſire of his Commons, perhaps contrary to the Advice of ſome of his chief Miniſters. Can we ſuppoſe his preſent

Majeſty

Majeſty leſs wiſe, or leſs regardful of the Deſires of his People? God forbid we ſhould. At leaſt, I who am no Miniſter, but a faithful Subject, will not dare to preſume any ſuch Thing. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I muſt therefore ſuppoſe, Sir, that if the Bill had been paſſed laſt Seſſion by the other Houſe, his Majeſty would have given his Aſſent to it; for he muſt be ſenſible, that it is a Bill deſigned againſt the Miniſters of the Crown, and not againſt the Crown itſelf; therefore, I think, we ought always to be more apprehenſive of its not paſſing the other Houſe, than of its not receiving the Royal Aſſent, after it has paſſed both Houſes; and as, I hope, I may without Derogation ſuppoſe the other Houſe more liable to the Influence of wicked Miniſters, than we can ever ſuppoſe a wiſe King to be, therefore, now is the only proper Time for puſhing this Bill, becauſe ſome, I hope, of our preſent Miniſters will promote its being paſſed by the other Houſe, which is a Favour we cannot, in my Opinion, expect from any of them a Year hence. We muſt, I think, get ſuch a Bill as this paſſed in the Infancy of an Adminiſtration, or never. When Miniſters firſt enter upon their Adminiſtration, they are innocent, they are fond of Popularity; but very few of them long continue either their Innocence or Fondneſs. They ſoon find the Sweets of being able to purchaſe thoſe they cannot perſuade: To this they ſacrifice their Fondneſs for Popularity: Thus they ſoon become criminal; and then their own Safety makes it neceſſary for them to oppoſe the paſſing of any Bill that may tend not only to prevent their future, but detect their paſt corrupt Practices.

'But allow, Sir, that it would be decent in us to ſuppoſe his Majeſty prejudiced againſt this Bill by ſome former Miſrepreſentations, and that he had not of himſelf Strength of Mind enough to remove thoſe Prejudices, without the Aſſiſtance of ſome of his new Miniſters, we muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe Miniſters have already attempted it, or that they have not. If they have attempted it, and have not ſucceeded, we ought to interpoſe, becauſe their Advice will certainly acquire a new Weight with his Majeſty, when he finds it ſeconded by the Advice of both Houſes of Parliament. And if thoſe new Miniſters have not attempted, in ſix or eight Months, what is ſo neceſſary for the Happineſs of their Sovereign and Security of their Country, it muſt proceed either from their not having the Boldneſs, or their not having an Inclination to make any ſuch Attempt. If they have not had the Boldneſs to make the Attempt, we ought to paſs the Bill, in order to give them Courage, and to furniſh them with

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

with an Excuſe for ſpeaking freely to their Maſter upon a Subject of ſuch Importance; and if they have not had an Inclination to make proper Remonſtrances upon this Subject, I am ſure, we ought to paſs the Bill, in order to force them to perform what is their Duty both to their King and their Country.

'To come now, Sir, to the Argument made uſe of for ſhewing, that we have not the ſame Reaſon for puſhing the Bill this Seſſion, as we had in the laſt; they are chiefly founded upon a Suppoſition, that we have not only changed Men but Meaſures, which, in my Opinion, is a Sort of begging the Queſtion; and conſidering what a ſmall Number of new Members have been introduced into the Adminiſtration, and what a great Number of the former ſtill remain in the moſt eminent Poſts of our Government, it is a Queſtion which, I believe, very few will grant. But ſuppoſe this Queſtion were granted, and that our new Miniſters are all ſincere Friends to this Bill, it is a ſtrong Argument for puſhing it during this Seſſion, becauſe we do not know, but that theſe new Miniſters who are Friends to this Bill, for I much queſtion if all of them are, may be turned out before next Seſſion; and ſurely we have more Reaſon to expect his Majeſty's Concurrence in this Bill, whilſt there are ſome Gentlemen in his Councils that will dare to adviſe him right, than we can have after all ſuch are removed.

'Thus, I think, Sir, with regard to our Domeſtick Affairs, there is no Difference in their Circumſtances, but what is an Argument for puſhing this Bill, with at leaſt as much Vigour in this Seſſion as we did in the laſt; and with regard to Foreign Affairs, I ſhall readily grant, they now bear a much better Aſpect than they did a Twelvemonth ago; but this, I think, is owing to the unexpected Succeſs of the Queen of *Hungary*'s Arms, and to the bad Conduct of the *French*, much more than to any Change in our Adminiſtration. The ridiculous, I may ſay, treacherous Conduct of the *French* towards the King of *Pruſſia*, was the true and original Cauſe of detaching him from their Alliance: The Views of the *Hanover* Miniſters being defeated, they became his Friends, ſince they ſaw they could not with Safety or Advantage become his Enemies; and the Succeſs of the Queen of *Hungary*'s Arms having drawn M. *Maillebois* away from their Frontier, left them at Liberty to concert new Projects. Theſe Changes our old Miniſter, with all his Blundering, would, I believe, have taken Advantage of, as well as the new, and might perhaps have done it with as great Effect, and perhaps with a leſs Expence to the Nation, than the new have done; for

Tho'

tho' we have already been put to a monſtrous Charge, it cannot be ſaid, that our new Miniſters have as yet given any Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, but what we may ſuppoſe the former Miniſter would, in the ſame Circumſtances, have been as ready to give as they; ſo that we cannot juſtly ſuppoſe our Conduct, with regard to Foreign Affairs, to be in the leaſt altered. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'But ſuppoſe, Sir, that our new Miniſters are to act in the moſt vigorous Manner: Suppoſe they are to involve the Nation in a War with *France*, is this a Reaſon for our delaying to take Care of our own Liberties? Shall we ſacrifice our own Liberties for the Sake of preſerving the Liberties of *Europe*? Did ſuch a Thought ever enter into the Heads of our Anceſtors? On the contrary, Sir, we know, that in Times of the greateſt Foreign Danger, they took Care to vindicate their Domeſtick Liberty, and never upon that Account ſcrupled a Conteſt with their Sovereign, if he refuſed to comply with their juſt Demands. The memorable Conteſt in King *Richard* the IId's Time, when the *French* had an Army and a Fleet actually ready to invade the Nation, will, and ought to be a Precedent for all future Parliaments; and the Triennial Bill itſelf was extorted from King *William* in the very Heat of a *French* War. Therefore, the Foreign Danger we are in, were it much greater than it is, can be no Argument againſt our paſſing this Bill, even ſuppoſe we were ſure of its being rejected by his Majeſty; but we are ſo far from being ſure of this, that we have no Reaſon to ſuppoſe it. His Majeſty has always ſhewn ſuch a Regard for his Parliaments, and has ſo lately given us a Proof of that Regard, that we neither can nor ought to ſuppoſe, he will reject any Bill which is thought neceſſary for ſecuring our Liberties, not only by the Parliament, but by a great Majority of the People.

'The Cauſe of the Queen of *Hungary*, Sir, which has been ſo emphatically recommended to us on this Occaſion, deſerves, I ſhall grant, our higheſt Regard. I wiſh the Cauſe of her Houſe had been more regarded by us than it ſeems to have been for ſeveral Years paſt: I wiſh we had no Way contributed to the pulling down of the Power of that Houſe; and I wiſh, now we are again come to our right Senſes, it were in our Power to give her a more effectual Aſſiſtance than we are able or likely to give; but if we have a Mind to give her any effectual Aſſiſtance, the paſſing of ſuch a Bill as this will be the beſt Way we can take for enabling us to do ſo. It will reconcile the People to their Sovereign, and put an End to all the Jealouſies now reigning amongſt

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amongſt them: It will render our Government popular, which will reſtore to us a Confidence amongſt thoſe who ought to be our Allies, and enable us to form a Confederacy ſufficient for ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, and reſtoring the Balance of Power. Thus, Sir, in every Light we can view this Queſtion, the preſent is not only a proper, but the moſt proper Time we can take, for attempting to have ſuch a Bill paſs'd into a Law, and therefore, I hope, the Motion will be agreed to.

Mr Carew.

In the Courſe of this Debate, Mr *Carew*, Member for *Minehead*, ſtood up, and declar'd, 'That as he could not pretend to enforce the Neceſſity of ſuch a Bill, by weightier Arguments, than had been formerly urg'd by a now Right Honourable Member, he would beg Leave to repeat them to the Houſe: And thereupon read Mr *Sandys*'s Speech made in the laſt Seſſion.

Other Members.

Several Members, who had upon former Occaſions voted for a Place-Bill, gave it as a Reaſon for their Oppoſition to this, That as there had been a * Bill paſs'd the laſt Seſſion for excluding the Seven Commiſſioners of the Revenue of *Ireland*, the Seven Commiſſioners of the Navy and of the Victualling-Offices, the Clerk of the Pells, and all the Deputies, Inferior Officers and Clerks of thoſe Commiſſions, and of the Treaſury, Exchequer, Pells, Admiralty, Secretaries of State, and Paymaſter of the Forces, or of the Salt, or of Appeals, or of the Wine-Licences, or of the Stamps, or of Hackney-Coaches, or of Hawkers and Pedlars, (Two or Three only excepted,) together with the whole Civil and Major Part of the Military Eſtabliſhment of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*; there was the leſs Neceſſity for another.

The Motion for a Place-Bill rejected.

At length the Queſtion being put, it was Reſolv'd in the Negative, Ayes 196, Noes 221.

Dec. 6. *Stephen Sherlock* having counterfeited the Hand-Writing of a Member upon a Cover of a Letter, was committed Priſoner to *Newgate*.

Sir *Joſeph Ayloffe*, Clerk to the Commiſſioners for building *Weſtminſter* Bridge, preſented to the Houſe a State of the Proceedings of the ſaid Commiſſioners: Alſo of Contracts made

* In the Progreſs of this Bill, a Clauſe for excluding all Officers of the Army under the Rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel, was rejected by 146 againſt 113; and it was Reſolv'd by a Majority of 152 againſt 75, that the Bill ſhould not take Place 'till the Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament.—— It was carry'd up to the Lords by Mr Sandys. See Chandler's Hiſtory, Vol. XIII.

made by them from *November* 24, 1741, to *November* 3, 1742: And alſo Accounts of the Treaſurer to the ſaid Commiſſioners from the 29th of *September* 1741, to the 29th of *September* 1742.

Lists and Estimates referr'd to the Committee of Supply.

Sir *William Yonge* preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs, a Liſt of the General Officers, with an Account, how many of them are employed and paid, and where they are at preſent, with the Dates of their reſpective Commiſſions as ſuch, and of their firſt Commiſſions in the Army, which was referred to the Committee of Supply, as was alſo the Eſtimate of the Charge of his Majeſty's Forces in *Flanders*; and of the Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces: Likewiſe of his Majeſty's Forces in the Plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*: And of Ten Regiments of Marines for the Year 1743.

Debate on Sir W. Yonge's Motion for granting 534,763 l. for the Britiſh Troops in Flanders.

Then the Houſe Reſolv'd itſelf into the ſaid Committee, and Sir *William Yonge* open'd the Debate to the following Effect:

Sir,

'As we are now in a Committee for conſidering further of the Supplies granted to his Majeſty, and as the ſeveral Eſtimates of the Expence of the Land Forces to be kept up for the Service of the enſuing Year, have been referred to us, it is now our Buſineſs to conſider thoſe Eſtimates, and to grant the proper Supplies, if we think them neceſſary for the publick Safety or Service. By the Eſtimates you will ſee, what Number of Men his Majeſty thinks neceſſary for the ſeveral Services mentioned, and as the Eſtimates have been exactly calculated to the loweſt Farthing, every Gentleman, by looking upon the Eſtimate, will ſee, what Sum of Money will be neceſſary for each reſpective Service. As this depends upon Calculation, and may be eaſily calculated by every Gentleman preſent, it can admit of no Doubt, or Difficulty; therefore the only Queſtion that can come properly under our Conſideration, is that relating to the Number of Men neceſſary for each Service; and in this too, conſidering the dangerous Situation *Europe* in general, as well as this Nation in particular, is in at preſent, I hope, we ſhall be pretty unanimous. As the Nature of the Office * in which I have the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, makes it more particularly incumbent upon me to explain the Nature of the ſeveral Services mentioned in thoſe Eſtimates, and to make the proper Motions, I ſhall begin with that which was in Courſe firſt referred to the Committee, and which in its own Nature

* Secretary at War.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ſtands moſt in need of an Explanation, I mean the Eſtimate of the Charge of maintaining the Body of Troops which his Majeſty hath ſent to *Flanders*, and which he thinks neceſſary to be kept there for this enſuing Year at leaſt.

'I am ſure, Sir, I need not take up much of your Time in explaining the Danger to which the Liberties of *Europe* are expoſed, by the numerous Armies which *France* has ſent into *Germany*. This Danger is ſo evident to the whole Nation, that the only Complaint ſeems to be, why his Majeſty has not long before this Time given more effectual Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*. This Complaint, 'tis true, can only be made by thoſe who do not know or conſider the Difficulties which his Majeſty had to ſurmount, before he could give any ſuch Aſſiſtance; but as ſuch ignorant or inconſiderate Perſons are by far the moſt numerous, this, like moſt other popular Complaints, tho' without any Foundation, has become very general. Thank God! moſt of thoſe Difficulties are now removed, and his Majeſty is left at Liberty to give more openly, and, I hope, more effectually, an Aſſiſtance to that magnanimous Princeſs. I am far from ſaying, I am far from ſuppoſing, that his Majeſty has it in his View, to reſtore the Houſe of *Auſtria* to as great Power, and Splendor as it was lately poſſeſſed of. This is not, I think, neceſſary for ſecuring the Balance of Power, and I doubt much if he could get any one Potentate in *Europe* to join with him in ſuch a Project; but it is certainly neceſſary for us, and for moſt of the other Potentates of *Europe*, to prevent the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s being too much reduced, and in particular, to prevent its being in the Power of *France*, by means of the Troubles which ſhe has excited in *Germany*, to make any Addition to her own, already too extenſive, Dominions.

'This, Sir, is the great Danger *Europe* is at preſent expoſed to; this is the Danger which we are, if poſſible, to prevent, and in this we ſhall probably get moſt of the Potentates of *Europe* to join with us. Can we ſuppoſe, Sir, that *France* has been at ſuch vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure, merely for the Sake of the Houſe of *Bavaria*? Can we ſuppoſe, ſhe has no private View of getting ſome Addition to her own Dominions? She may declare, ſhe may proteſt, ſhe may ſwear, ſhe has no ſuch private View; but late Experience muſt convince us, that there is no Truſt to be put in ſuch Proteſtations. In the laſt War ſhe got *Lorrain*, notwithſtanding a moſt ſolemn Proteſtation at the Beginning of that War, 'That his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty did not de-'ſire to enlarge the Bounds of his Dominions; *and further*,

'that

'that his Majeſty, content with what he poſſeſſed, and far 'from deſiring to turn the Succeſs of his Arms to the En- 'largement of his Borders, did not ſcruple to declare ſo- 'lemnly, that he had it not at all in View to make Con- 'queſts, nor to keep Settlements, wherein the Safety of the '*Germanick* Territories might be concerned.' Yet, Sir, notwithſtanding this ſolemn and expreſs Declaration, as ſoon as the Emperor was forced, by the Neutrality of the *Dutch*, to ſubmit to *French* Terms, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty appropriated to himſelf the whole Dominions of *Lorrain*, ſome of which are within the Territory of the *Germanick* Body; and all the *German* Territories on this Side the *Rhine* became thereby expoſed to an immediate Invaſion, whenever *France* ſhould be prompted by her Ambition, Intereſt, or Reſentment, to invade them.

'This, Sir, may ſhew us, how much the Declarations of *France* are to be truſted to; and if the Queen of *Hungary* ſhould be again diſpoſſeſſed of *Bohemia*, and ſo much deſerted, or ſo feebly aſſiſted, which is much the ſame, by her Allies, as to be forced to ſubmit to ſuch Terms as *France* ſhould preſcribe, can we ſuppoſe, that in order to have *Bohemia*, and thereby a Vote in the Electoral College, reſtored to her, ſhe would not yield up the *Auſtrian Netherlands* to *France*? Can we ſuppoſe, that the Emperor would not agree to ſuch an Exchange, if in lieu of *Bohemia* he ſhould have the *Tirol* and *Trentine*, and all the *Auſtrian* Dominions in *Swabia*, ſecured to him by the Ceſſion of the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Guarantee of *France*? Can we ſuppoſe, that *Spain* or *Sardinia* would oppoſe ſuch a Treaty, if a Part of the *Milaneze* ſhould be given to the latter, and the reſt, together with the *Mantuan*, and with *Parma* and *Placentia*, to the Son of the Queen of *Spain*, now married to a Daughter of *France*? The *Dutch*, 'tis true, would then have Reaſon to repent of the late and preſent Puſillanimity of their Councils; but durſt they attempt to oppoſe ſuch an Exchange? Would not they be glad to do as they did in the Year 1700? Would not they be forced to approve, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, of thoſe Uſurpations and Breaches of Faith in the *French*, in order to get their Troops back, who, as they were in 1700, would then be impounded in the Heart of *Flanders*, and deſtitute of any Communication with their own Country? Could we then propoſe to form a Confederacy againſt the Power of *France*? Could we be ſure of being able to defend ourſelves?

'We may talk, Sir, of our being an Iſland: We may now boaſt of the Superiority of our naval Power: We may

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now in a great Measure depend upon it as a Security against our being invaded; but in this State of Things, which *Europe* may probably be reduced to, if we do not powerfully interfere, I am afraid, we should not long have Reason to boast of the Superiority of our Navy. If *France* were again in Possession of the *Netherlands*, and freed from all Apprehensions of an Attack by Land, she would certainly apply herself with the utmost Diligence and Application to the Increase of her Navy, and might in a very few Years be able to fit out a most formidable Squadron: We know what powerful Squadrons she fitted out in King *William*'s Time; and in how many Sea Engagements Victory stood for some Time in Suspence, tho' we had at that Time both the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* to assist us; tho' *France* had not then near such a Trade, or such a Number of Seamen, as she has now; tho' she was then obliged to keep up numerous Land Armies, to carry on the War, or to defend herself in *Flanders*, in *Spain*, in *Italy*, and upon the *Rhine*; and tho' she was then in Possession but of a very small Part of the *Low Countries*. Have we not then great Reason to apprehend her becoming superior at Sea, if every one of these Circumstances should be altered in her Favour, especially if in her War against us she should be assisted by *Spain*, which probably would be the Case, and we without any one Friend or Ally that dared give us the least Assistance.

'When we consider these Events which are at least possible, and, in my Opinion, Sir, highly probable, we must be convinced of its being absolutely necessary for his Majesty to form a considerable Army in *Flanders*, in order at least to prevent its being in the Power of *France*, to model out the Kingdoms and Provinces upon the Continent of *Europe*, according to her Good-liking, and to take what Part of them she pleases to herself. This, instead of leading us into the War now carrying on in *Germany*, may prevent its becoming necessary for us to engage in it; because when *France* sees that we are resolved to interpose in the present Contests in *Germany*, and have a numerous Army upon the Continent to protect such of the Potentates of *Europe* as shall join with us in Defence of Publick Liberty, or even to carry the War into her own Dominions, in case by her Conduct she should force us to do so, she will then set Bounds to her ambitious Views, and will submit to such Terms of Peace as may be thought proper for restoring the Balance of Power, and establishing it upon a solid Foundation.

'The very Arrival, Sir, of our Troops in *Flanders* has already

already had a great and good Effect. Both the Emperor and *France* are already become much more moderate in their Demands, and have offered to reſtore the Peace of *Germany* upon Conditions which a few Months ago they would have rejected with Indignation Therefore every one muſt, I think, approve of his Majeſty's having ſent a Body of his Troops thither: No one can ſuppoſe, that a leſs Number would have been ſufficient for the Purpoſes deſigned; and every one muſt agree, that they ought to be kept there till thoſe Purpoſes are fully anſwered. For this Reaſon, I need not, I think, take up any more of your Time upon this particular Branch, but as ſeveral other Branches of publick Expence are this Day to come under our Conſideration, and as the Motion I am now to make, will conſequently be followed by ſeveral others, now I am up, I ſhall beg Leave to explain a little the other Eſtimates this Day referred to us, and to ſhew the Neceſſity of each. As we are now in an open War with *Spain*, and as we have now, I may ſay openly, undertaken to ſet Bounds to the ambitious Views of *France*, both theſe Powers will certainly watch for, and as certainly embrace the firſt Opportunity for diſturbing our domeſtick Tranquility, and therefore we ought now to be more cautious than ever of affording them any Opportunity for this Purpoſe. As we have now a Sea Force ſuperior to any that both theſe Powers united together can ſend againſt us, we can truſt to it for our Defence againſt any formidable and foreſeen Invaſion, but we cannot truſt to it for preventing a ſmall, ſudden and unlook'd for Invaſion; and tho' a ſmall Number of Troops actually landed in any Part of *Britain* or *Ireland* could not pretend to make a Conqueſt of either Iſland, yet conſidering the great Number of diſaffected Perſons we have ſtill amongſt us, even the Landing of a ſmall Number of foreign Troops might very much diſturb our domeſtick Tranquility, if we had not a ſufficient Number of regular Troops to ſend againſt them at their firſt Landing. If they ſhould be allowed Time to march from one Place to another, and thereby afford the Diſaffected not only Time but an Opportunity to join them, their Army might be ſo encreaſed as to involve us in a Civil War amongſt ourſelves, and before we could extricate ourſelves out of this domeſtick Danger, *Spain* might have an Opportunity to conquer or deſtroy ſome of our beſt Colonies in the *Weſt Indies*, and *France* to compel the Queen of *Hungary*, and all the other Powers of *Europe*, to ſubmit to ſuch Terms as ſhe ſhould preſcribe; ſo that at this critical Conjuncture, unleſs we have a Number of Troops ſuf-

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ficient to repel an invading Enemy, at, or ſoon after their firſt Landing, a ſmall Invaſion may be as fatal in its Conſequences as the moſt formidable and moſt ſucceſsful Invaſion at another Time; becauſe as ſoon as the *French* and *Spaniards* had reduced the other Potentates of *Europe* to their Terms, that ſmall Invaſion would certainly be followed by an Invaſion which we, with all our Power either by Sea or Land, could neither prevent nor repel.

'Thus, Sir, every Gentleman muſt perceive, that in the preſent critical Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, it is more neceſſary to keep a great Number of Troops at Home, than ever it was upon any former Occaſion; and yet ſuch is his Majeſty's Regard for the Eaſe of his People, as will appear by the Eſtimate, that he deſires but a very few more than was thought neceſſary the * firſt Year of his Reign, and not ſo many as was thought neceſſary in the Year 1735. But beſides the Neceſſity of keeping a large Body of Troops at home for ſecuring our domeſtick Tranquility at this dangerous Conjuncture, his Majeſty may perhaps find it neceſſary to ſend a few more of his Troops abroad; and if this ſhould happen, which is not improbable, we ought to be provided with a few more regular Troops than are abſolutely neceſſary to be kept at home, eſpecially if we conſider, that it is every Day becoming more and more difficult to raiſe new Regiments, or even to recruit or augment the old, than it was heretofore; for in this Country, the Government cannot do as it does in *France*: It cannot compel Men to enter into the Service of their Country, or to draw Lots † for that Purpoſe.

'From theſe Circumſtances, Sir, I hope, it will be generally agreed, that the Number of Troops propoſed by the Eſtimate for Guards, Garriſons, and other Purpoſes, relating to *Great Britain*, is the leaſt Number that can be thought ſufficient for that Service; and with regard to the Forces to be maintained in *Minorca*, *Gibraltar*, and *America*, as the Number is not propoſed to be augmented, I think, I need ſay nothing for explaining, or for ſhewing the Neceſſity of that Expence; for ſurely no Man would be mad enough to adviſe diminiſhing the Number and Strength of any of thoſe

* The Number of Forces for the Year 1728, was 22,955, and for the Year 1735, was 25,744. See Chandler's Hiſtory, Vol. 7th and 9th.

† All Fathers of Families, Maſter Workmen, &c. of the inferior Sort in France, are oblig'd to bring their Male Children, Apprentices, and Servants, to Commiſſaries appointed for that Purpoſe, in order to enrol the Names and Ages of ſuch unmarried Men, betwixt 16 and 40, as are able to bear Arms; out of which every 6th Man is drawn by Lot: — By ſuch Means as theſe the French King recruits his Army!

thoſe Garriſons in a Time of ſuch foreign Danger. For the ſame Reaſon, I think, I need not ſay much upon the Marine Eſtimate, ſince the Eſtimate does not propoſe, that they ſhould be augmented, and no Man can ſuppoſe, that they are leſs neceſſary, or that the ſame Number is not neceſſary for the enſuing Year, that was thought neceſſary for the Year now near expiring. For if a ſudden Rupture ſhould happen between us and *France*, it will be impoſſible for us to get near a ſufficient Number of Seamen to man the great Number of Ships of War we ſhall be obliged to fit out for Squadrons, Convoys, Cruizers, and Guard-ſhips, without putting an entire Stop to our mercantile Navigation. It will be neceſſary for us to put as many Marines on board every Ship of War, as the Nature of the Service will admit of; and if this ſhould happen, double the Number of Marines now propoſed will ſcarcely be ſufficient; but as to this his Majeſty truſts to the Wiſdom, Affection, and Juſtice of his Parliament, not doubting but that they will enable him to take ſuch Meaſures as may, upon any new Emergency, appear to be neceſſary for the Publick Service.

'Having now, Sir, explain'd, in as few Words as poſſible, the Nature and Neceſſity of the ſeveral Branches of publick Charge which, in Conſequence of the Eſtimates referred to the Committee, muſt this Day come under our Conſideration; and having in particular ſhewn the Wiſdom and Expediency of our keeping ſuch a Body of Troops in *Flanders* as has been lately ſent there, I ſhall conclude with a Motion to reſolve, 'That the Sum of 534,763 l. 5 s. be granted to 'his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of 16359 effective 'Men (Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included) 'to be employ'd in *Flanders*, for the Year 1743.' and after this Motion is agreed to, which, I hope, it will without Oppoſition, I ſhall then take the Liberty to make ſuch other Motions as of Courſe ariſe from the other Eſtimates this Day referred to the Conſideration of the Committee.

Mr *John Philips* ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'I Have not been long a Member of this Houſe, and how ſhort a Time may be decreed me I don't know *:—But while I have the Honour to ſit here, I am determined to ſpeak my Mind

Mr Philips.

* Griffith Philips, Eſq; preſented a Petition againſt this Gentleman's Election for Caermarthen; but the Committee of Privileges and Elections afterwards gave it in favour of the ſitting Member, by above Eighty Majority.

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Mind freely, and to declare my Averſion to a Standing Army, an Averſion not taken up on any Diſtaſte or Diſtruſt of the Officers that have the Command of it; becauſe I believe 'em to be Men of great Honour and Abilities, but founded on a Maxim I have early imbibed, That a Standing Army is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Liberties of *Great Britain*. Our naval Force is our natural Strength, and by Means of that we have in former Reigns been the Terror of *Europe*. I would not be underſtood to mean, that we are to have no Troops at all: A ſmall Number may perhaps be always neceſſary for Guards and Garriſons at home, and in Time of War a larger Number to be ſent abroad. The Queſtion now before you is, Whether you ſhall grant 534,763 l. 5 s. for maintaining 16,359 Men, to be employ'd in *Flanders*; but as the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion, opened to you the whole Number of national Troops propoſed to be employ'd this Year, I ſhall beg Leave to conſider 'em altogether, and that under two Heads: The Neceſſity of the Troops, and the Ability of the Nation to maintain them.

'The Number of national Troops propoſed to be employ'd is 63,246, *viz.* 16,359 in *Flanders*: 23,610 for Guards and Garriſons at home and in the *Weſt-Indies*: 11,727, in the *Plantations*, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*; and 11,550 Marines. The Neceſſity of keeping up ſo great a Number of Troops muſt ariſe from ſome Danger the Nation would be in without them; for no other Argument can juſtify the Meaſure. If we are in any Danger from *Spain*, the only Nation we are in War with, (and which War we ſeem to have forgot) ſurely a much leſs Number of Land Forces would enable us to carry on that War, while we have ſo many Ships in Commiſſion, and 40,000 Seamen to man them; and it is by our naval Force only, that we can humble that haughty Nation: 12,000 Men are ſufficient for Guards and Garriſons at home, while we have ſo powerful a Fleet to defend us from Invaſions. I am an Enemy to the Power of *France*, tho' we are in no immediate Danger from her, and I think it the Intereſt of *England* to maintain the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, tho' I much queſtion whether that will turn the Scale in our Favour; but let us not be Knights Errant on the Occaſion, and ſend an Army on the Continent to combat the *French* without any Allies. (For, I do not find we have any, the *Dutch* being too cautious to come into our Meaſures.) Such a Step may prove very fatal to us, and draw on laſting Inconveniences. The beſt Method to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*,

gary, is with our Money: She does not want Troops, but the Means to raiſe them, which ſhe can do at a Quarter of the Charge that it will coſt us to ſend our own Troops to her Aſſiſtance, conſidering the great Expence of Tranſports, and the Difficulties we ſhall find in providing Ammunition, Proviſions, and Recruits in a foreign Country. But I am aware, we ſhall be told, that we muſt give her Money too. The Queen of *Hungary* is certainly a gallant Princeſs, and a very fine Woman; but we are not therefore to ſpend all we have upon her, and become Bankrupts in her Service. Let us have ſome Regard for *Old England*, our native Country, and not ſuffer her to fall a Sacrifice to any foreign Intereſt whatſoever; which brings me to conſider the Ability of the Nation to maintain ſo great a Number of Troops. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'As every Nation is circumſcribed within certain Bounds, ſo there is a certain Degree of Expence that every Nation can with Safety bear, and ſhould never exceed; and it is the Opinion of ſome very wiſe Men, that whenever the Expences of *Great Britain* exceed *five Millions* a Year, I mean the ordinary Expences voted by Parliament, ſhe goes beyond her Strength, and conſequently muſt fall. During all the laſt War in Queen *Anne*'s Time, when we had ſo great an Army on the Continent, and ſo many Allies, and contracted a great Debt, our Expences, one Year with another, did not amount to 5,300,000 l. † In the Year 1741, our Expences were above 5,267,000 l. Laſt Year above 6,137,000 l. The Troops now propoſed (I mean the 63,000 Men) will coſt us above 1,655,000 l. which, with the Seamen and other Expences

† The following is an Account of the Grants, during the Courſe of Queen Anne's War.

Anno	L.
1702	3,000,000
1703	3,694,136
1704	3,828,886
1705	4,670,486
1706	5,075,757
1707	5,540,167
1708	5,926,849
1709	6,457,830
1710	6,384,260
1711	6,609,295
1712	6,656,967
Total	57,844,633

N. B. The odd Shillings and Pence being omitted, a competent additional Sum muſt be allow'd for thoſe Fractions of a Pound.

For the Particulars at Large, of each Year's Grant. See the APPENDIX to VOL. XIII. p. 122.

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pences of the Year, muſt come to above Six Millions. The Nation is in Debt 48,915,000l. (which Debt is every Day increaſing) and groans under a heavy Load of Taxes; and tho' many Gentlemen in this Houſe may not feel the Weight of them, the Poor daily do, and call aloud for Redreſs. Theſe are ſerious Things, and deſerve the mature Conſideration of Parliament. For my own Part, I ſhall always think it my Duty, while I ſit here, to oppoſe laying on any of my Fellow Subjects a greater Burden than they are able to bear; and therefore ſhall heartily give my Negative to the maintaining ſo great a Number of unneceſſary Troops.

Mr *Sandys* ſpoke as follows.

Sir,

Mr Sandys.

'I find, the Gentlemen who oppoſe this Queſtion carefully, I ſhall not ſay artfully, drop the preſent Neceſſity we are under, and talk only of the Danger and Expence of maintaining and keeping up a great Number of Land Forces, and the Inability of the Nation to ſupport that Expence. I have as great an Averſion to a numerous ſtanding Army, kept up in Time of Peace, as any Gentleman can have, and ſhall readily admit of the Maxim, that a numerous ſtanding Army, kept up in Time of Peace, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Liberties of *Great Britain*. But I have no Averſion to a ſtanding Army in Time of War, however numerous it may be, provided it be no more numerous than is neceſſary for putting a happy and ſpeedy End to the War; nor can I think, that a numerous ſtanding Army in Time of War is any Way inconſiſtent with the Liberties of *Great Britain*, eſpecially when a conſiderable Part of that Army is ſent abroad to the Aſſiſtance of our Allies, or to carry the War into the Bowels of our Enemies Country, in order thereby to compel them to ſubmit ſpeedily to reaſonable Terms of Peace; for as this is a trading Nation, it is our Buſineſs to put an End to every War as ſoon as poſſible, that we may the ſooner have an Opportunity to carry on our Commerce without Interruption. When we happen to be at War with a trading Nation, we may, 'tis true, by Means of our Fleet, put a ſpeedy End to the War; becauſe if we conquer them at Sea, we may put almoſt an entire Stop to their Trade, which will of courſe ſoon force them to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms; but when we happen to be at War with a Nation that does not much depend upon Trade, we muſt ſome Way or other employ a Land Army againſt them, otherwiſe the War may become eternal; for we can never do them ſo much Harm at Sea as they can do us, nor can we reap any Benefit by

by the War, whereas they will be yearly reaping a Benefit from it by Means of their Privateers; ſo that unleſs we can fall upon ſome Way of attacking them with a Land Army, the War muſt endure for ever, or we muſt at laſt ſubmit to purchaſe Peace from them upon their own Terms. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I would not therefore, Sir, have Gentlemen conceive ſuch an utter Averſion to a Land Army, as to reſolve never to have or employ ſuch an Army upon any Occaſion whatever; and if the Land Army now propoſed be neceſſary for reſtoring Peace to ourſelves as well as *Europe*, the Meaſure muſt be complied with, however expenſive it may be, however unable we may think ourſelves to ſupport the Expence; for, I hope, we are not yet reduced to ſuch Poverty as to ſubmit tamely to put on the Chains either of *France* or *Spain*. I ſhall grant, Sir, the Nation is incumber'd with a great Load of Debts, and the People groan under the Burden of their Taxes; but from whence aroſe this Load of Debt? To what is this Burden of Taxes owing? Why, Sir, to the very Spirit which now prevails, and, I am afraid, always will prevail: An univerſal Cry of Poverty when any Contributions are deſired for the publick Service. I believe, it will be granted, that our Anceſtors in King *William*'s and Queen *Anne*'s Wars were as rich as we are now, and that the Nation was then able to raiſe yearly as great a publick Revenue as it does now. If they had done ſo, we ſhould now have had no Debts to pay off, nor any Taxes but ſuch as might be found neceſſary for the current Service of the Year; for the Nation now raiſes more yearly than ever was expended in any one Year during either of thoſe Wars, as may eaſily be computed by any one who conſiders the preſent State of our publick Revenue. If we reckon the Civil Liſt Revenue at 800,000 *l.* the Land and Malt Tax at 2,700,000 *l.* and the Funds appropriated to the Payment of the Principal and Intereſt of our publick Debts at about 3,200,000 *l.* we ſhall ſee, that this Nation now raiſes 6,700,000 *l.* yearly, which, I believe, is equal to the whole publick Charge of any one Year of theſe Wars; at leaſt, I am ſure, it is a great deal more than the publick Charge was during that Time *communibus Annis*; and therefore, if the People in thoſe Days would have agreed to raiſe yearly as much as they might have done, the annual Revenue would have anſwered the annual Charge, and we ſhould now have had neither Intereſt nor Principal to pay to any publick Creditor, and conſequently might have held the Balance of Power in *Europe* with more Eaſe and Steadineſs than we can do at preſent.

'But ſuch, Sir, is the Humour of the People in all Countries

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tries and all Ages: Every one desires to live at Ease and in Safety, but every one is averse towards contributing his proportionable Share towards that publick Expence, which is absolutely necessary for securing his Ease and Safety. The Bulk of Mankind can see no Danger but what is directly before their Eyes, and consequently are unwilling to contribute to the Charge of guarding against a Danger which they cannot see; and as it is at all Times popular to appear against taxing or burdening a People, those who see the Danger too often prefer their Love of Popularity to the Love of their Country. The Danger we are in at present is so near, that I cannot think, there is one Gentleman in this House that does not see it: The House of *Austria* is the *Ucalegon* of *Great Britain*; for if ever that House should be destroyed by the Flames of a War lighted up by *France* and *Spain*, *Great Britain* will certainly be the next, because we are next in Power. *Holland* may be at last consumed, but the old *Spanish* Maxim, That the only Way to come at *Holland* is to pass through *England*, is now well known both at the Courts of *France* and *Spain*; and both those Courts are sensible, that in order to subdue *England* they must first reduce the House of *Austria*, so as to render it unable to give them any Diversion upon the Continent.

——— *Jam proximus ardet*
Ucalegon,

ought therefore to be, it is most reasonably, the Cry all over *Britain*, and in every Man's Mouth that is not blinded or biassed by some private View of Interest, Ambition, or Resentment. That this Nation will be the next Sacrifice to the Ambition of *France* is apparent, not only from the Reason of Things, but from the Behaviour of *France* immediately before the Death of the late Emperor. Can we have already forgot their sending their Squadrons to the *West-Indies?* Can we now doubt of the Orders those Squadrons had, or that they would not have put those Orders in Execution, if the Hurricanes and Storms they met with, together with the excellent Disposition made by our Admiral then in the *West-Indies*, had not disabled them from attempting the Scheme they had projected? Can we expect that *Spain* will submit to reasonable Terms of Peace with us, whilst she sees us so indolent or so cowardly as not to dare to oppose or interrupt her Schemes of Conquest in *Italy?* Can we hope that the *French* will not join openly with her against us, after they have reduced the Queen of *Hungary* to their Terms, and modelled out *Europe* to their Liking? Can any Man balance

in the leaſt which to chuſe, to enter into a War with *France* and *Spain*, whilſt the Fate of *Europe* is yet in Suſpence, and we may depend upon the Aſſiſtance of many, perhaps moſt of the Potentates thereof, or to enter into a War with thoſe two powerful Monarchies after they have made themſelves Maſters or at leaſt Arbiters of *Europe?* Sir, it is not the Cauſe of the Queen of *Hungary* alone I am now pleading: It is the Cauſe of *Great Britain* as well as hers. If it had not been for the Accident of the Emperor's Death, we ſhould have had *France* as well as *Spain* a declared Enemy long before this Time. We had ſo much neglected, deſerted, and diſobliged that Prince, that *France* thought ſhe might depend upon his not giving us any Aſſiſtance, and therefore ſhe was preparing to declare War againſt us, or to act in ſuch a Manner as might oblige us to declare againſt her. But the Accident of that Prince's Death made her ſuſpend her Meaſures with Regard to us, and the Behaviour of the King of *Pruſſia*, with the Obſtinacy of the Court of *Vienna*, in which they were too much encouraged by us, ſoon convinced her, that ſhe had now got the long look'd for Opportunity of reducing the Power of her antient Rival, the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Character of our then Adminiſtration was ſuch, that ſhe had Reaſon to think ſhe might be able to cajole us, till ſhe had perfected her Schemes upon the Continent of *Europe*, and that then ſhe might with more Safety and greater Certainty of Succeſs reſume thoſe Meaſures with regard to us, which ſhe had ſuſpended upon the Accident of the Emperor's Death: I ſay ſuſpended, for no Man in his right Senſes will ſuppoſe, they were either altered or laid aſide. By the late Change in the Adminiſtration, I hope ſhe will find herſelf diſappointed as to us: She cannot now hope being able to cajole our Adminiſtration, and, I hope, ſhe will find herſelf as little able to cajole the Nation. So far as I am able, her moſt ſecret Views ſhall be laid open to the People of *Great Britain*, and from thence, I hope, they will be convinced, that in ſupporting the Cauſe of the Queen of *Hungary* they ſupport their own, that in aſſiſting to extinguiſh the Fire which now threatens Deſtruction to her, they may, and, I hope, will extinguiſh thoſe Flames which would certainly next conſume themſelves.

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'From what I have ſaid, Sir, the Neceſſity of our entering into the War muſt appear. If the *French* and *Spaniards* do not depart from their preſent ambitious Schemes, and eſpecially, if the latter do not agree to do us Juſtice with regard to our Navigation and Commerce in the *American* Seas, we muſt enter into the War, or we muſt ſubmit

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mit to receive Laws from *France* in *Europe*, in *Africa*, and the *Eaſt Indies*; and from *Spain* in the *Weſt Indies*. In a Caſe of ſuch preſſing Neceſſity, I am ſurpriſed to hear Gentlemen talk of the Poverty of the Nation, or its Inability to ſupport ſuch a neceſſary War. I hope there are no Foreigners in our Gallery, or if there are, that they may not believe what ſuch Gentlemen ſay. At leaſt, I hope, it will not be believed at any Foreign Court in *Europe*; for if it were, it would encourage the Enemies of publick Liberty to perſiſt in the Proſecution of their ambitious and tyrannical Schemes; and it would diſhearten the Friends of publick Liberty ſo as to prevent their entering into any Meaſures with us for its Preſervation. Therefore, if thoſe Gentlemen have really ſuch a contemptible Opinion of their Country's Ability, I wiſh they would keep it to themſelves, becauſe, I am ſure, they can do no Service by publiſhing it; for by endeavouring bravely to preſerve the Liberties of *Europe*, and ſuccumbing in the brave Attempt, we can be in no worſe Condition than we ſhall be by ſitting ſtill, and tamely looking on till we ſee them overwhelmed. If we muſt become a Prey to our Enemies whenever they ſhall pleaſe to attempt making us ſo, the leaner we are, the leſs worth their while will they think it to make the Attempt; for few Conquerors ever thought of conquering a Country where nothing was to be expected but broken Bones; and therefore, I think, we do better, and ſhall be in leſs Danger by emaciating ourſelves ſtill further in making a brave Defence whilſt we have ſome View of Succeſs, than by battening in Eaſe and Tranquility till our Enemies have put it out of our Power to defend ourſelves with any tolerable View of Succeſs.

'But thank God! Sir, our Matters are not yet come to this Paſs: We have ſtill many and great Reſources: We have many rich Men amongſt us; and from the Nature of our Conſtitution, and the Regard that has always been ſhewn to Parliamentary Faith, we ſhall have the Treaſures of all the money'd Men in *Europe* at our Service. Theſe will ſtill enable us to carry on a vigorous War for many Years; and I wonder to hear Gentlemen of many Hundreds, nay Thouſands a Year, who pay but Four Shillings, perhaps but Two Shillings in the Pound, to the publick Service, for ſecuring their Enjoyment of the other 16 or 18: I ſay, I wonder to hear ſuch Gentlemen complaining of the Poverty and Inability of their Country. Would not they, would not any Man of common Senſe give the 16 Shillings for the publick Service, rather than ſubject the Whole to the arbitrary

bitrary Will of a *French* Monarch? In such Case I shall grant, they would be obliged to dismiss many of the Footmen, Coachmen, Cooks and other Men Servants they now keep for Pomp or Shew; but such Fellows could not want Business, for most of them would make excellent Recruits for our Army and Navy; and if mounted upon their Masters Coach Horses, they would make good Dragoons, or if mounted upon their running, riding, or hunting Horses, they would make fine *Hussars* for distressing the Armies of our Enemy. These Things, 'tis true, are dismal for a modern polite Gentleman to think of, but they are what, I hope, every Gentleman in *England* would frankly submit to, rather than see himself and his Country enslaved by any foreign Power whatsoever.

'We are therefore far from being in such poor or desperate Circumstances as have been represented in this Debate, and as to what wise Men may have said, that if ever *England* should raise above five Millions a Year she must be ruined, Experience has shewn the contrary; for we have raised above five Millions a Year for this forty Years, and are not yet ruined: Nay the Nation would have been in the most flourishing Circumstances, if a right Use had been made of the Money raised yearly, and proper Care taken to protect and improve our Trade. In a Country where the Land Revenue is reckoned to amount to twenty Millions a Year, and the Revenue of the trading and money'd People to at least three Times as much, it is, in my Opinion, ridiculous to say, that such a Country cannot spare to raise five Millions a Year for the publick Charge without ruining itself. I am far from supposing, that if our publick Debts were once paid off, it would be necessary for us to raise such a Sum yearly for our ordinary Expence; but upon extraordinary Occasions we might certainly raise that Sum, and a great deal more; and therefore, if those wise Men mean any Thing, they must mean, that *England* will be ruined by a bad Government, if it should ever be under such an unfrugal one, as to make the raising of above five Millions a Year necessary for defraying the ordinary Expence of the Government in Time of Peace. In this I shall agree with those wise Men, because such a ridiculous Government, if it continued for any Time, would ruin us by its bad Conduct, as well as by its Profusion of the publick Treasure. But is this the Case at present? Can it be said, the Government desires five Millions a Year, or much above the Half of that Sum for its ordinary Occasions? We are actually engaged in one War, and like to be engaged in another

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'I hope that Gentlemen are now convinced, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for us to interfere ſo far in the preſent Troubles of *Europe*, as to prevent its being in the Power of *France* and *Spain* to dictate to all the other Powers upon the Continent; and from what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope Gentlemen will have the Pleaſure of being convinced, that we are not yet reduced to ſuch a deſpicable Condition as has been repreſented, but that we may ſtill make a Figure in *Europe*, and by a right Conduct and vigorous Meaſures force the moſt daring to limit or deſert their ambitious Schemes of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. For this Purpoſe it was abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty to form an Army upon the Continent, and it is neceſſary to keep that Army there, till we have accompliſhed thoſe Views that are ſo ſalutary for our own Preſervation, as well as for the Preſervation of *Europe*, and our antient and moſt certain Ally, the Houſe of *Auſtria*. I ſay moſt certain, Sir, becauſe there is no one Prince in *Europe*, whoſe Intereſt can ſo conſtantly and ſo invariably coincide with the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, as that of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Even the *Dutch* we cannot naturally be ſo ſure of; becauſe many Diſputes may ariſe between them and us, about Trade and Navigation, or they may conceive Jealouſy of our naval Power; but between the Houſe of *Auſtria* and us no Conteſt of any Conſequence, no Jealouſy can ever happen, unleſs one or other be influenced by foreign, weak, or wicked Counſels. Can we deſert ſuch an Ally in the Time of ſuch Danger? Is it not our Intereſt to preſerve her Power as entire as poſſible? Her own Arms has already done a great deal: Let us aſſiſt her to do the reſt. His Majeſty has reſolved to do ſo: In this he is ſeconded by the Voice of his People; and, I hope, upon this and every like Occaſion, he will find himſelf ſeconded by the Voice of his Parliament.

Mr *Bance* ſpoke next to the following Effect:

Sir,

Mr Bance. 'Tho' the Hon. Gentleman who opened this Debate was pleaſed to tell us, that the Number of Troops for each reſpective Service was the only Queſtion that could properly come this Day before us, yet I muſt beg his Pardon for thinking that the Quantum of the Sum demanded for each,

is

is a Queſtion which ought likewiſe upon this Occaſion to have been brought under Conſideration; and if the Eſtimates had been firſt referred to a ſelect Committee, according to the Method which has been often propoſed, and I wiſh were put in Practice, I believe, ſome very material Objections might have been found to ſeveral of the Articles in each particular Eſtimate. As this has not been done, it is not to be expected that Gentlemen ſhould enter particularly into this Queſtion; but in general I muſt obſerve, that we have always had, and have now too great a Number of Officers in our Land Army, and a much greater Number than is uſual in any Country of *Europe* except *France*, where their Officers coſt them very little; for their Colonels are generally Men of Fortune who ſpend their own Eſtates in the Service of their Country, and the Pay of their Subalterns is hardly equal to that of our Serjeants and Corporals. Then as to our Marines, tho' they are really as properly marching Regiments as any other in our Service, the forming them into Regiments was at firſt abſolutely wrong, and, I remember, was ſtrongly objected to *; but ſince they are to remain a Burden upon us, I think, we ought to make it as light as poſſible, by ridding ourſelves of all the Field-Officers and Captains, and eſpecially their particular Paymaſter, who has a Salary, which, I am ſure, it is not neceſſary for the Publick to pay, let them be continued in what Shape you will. It may be ſaid, that this Salary is paid out of the Deductions uſually made on that Account from all the Regiments in our Service; but now we have ſuch a great Number of Forces on foot, I hope our Miniſters are more frugal than to give the Whole to the Paymaſter: I hope they do with him, as has been done, ever ſince *Cromwell*'s Time, with the Paymaſter of the Navy, which is to allow him a certain Salary, and apply the Surplus to the publick Service.

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'With Regard to our Marine Paymaſter, Sir, I really do not know whether his Salary be paid out of theſe Deductions, or out of the 4500 l. charged in this Eſtimate for Contingencies; but let it come from whence it will, it is paid by, and may be ſaved to the Publick, by having our Marines paid either by the Treaſurer of the Navy, or the Paymaſter of our Forces; and as the Gentleman who now moſt worthily fills the latter Poſt †, would not, I am ſure, deſire to ſink

* See the Debate on the proper Method for raiſing Marines, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory. Anno 1739, P. 152.

† Hon. Henry Pelham.

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in his own Pocket ſuch a large Sum of publick Money as theſe Deductions now amount to, being above 40,000 l. a Year, I think an Account of them, if they are ſtill made, ought to be laid yearly before Parliament. As I am upon this Subject, I muſt likewiſe take Notice of the Saving that has certainly been lately made, by the great Number of Officers and Soldiers that were kill'd, or died in the *Weſt Indies*. In ordinary Caſes, Sir, this Sort of Saving is not worth the while of Parliaments to inquire into; but when Regiments are, I may ſay, *Occidione occiſi*, and ſuch a long Time before they are or can be recruited, this Saving muſt become ſo conſiderable as to be well worth the Parliament's while to inquire into it; eſpecially conſidering the dangerous Uſe that may be made by a Miniſter, of ſuch large Sums, when left to his arbitrary Diſpoſal, as muſt be evident to every Gentleman who has read the Reports left laſt Seſſion * upon our Table.

'These Things I have thrown out, Sir, only to ſhew, that we ought to have another Queſtion now under our Conſideration, beſide that ſingle one, of the Number of Troops propoſed; and likewiſe to manifeſt to you, how neceſſary it is to refer the Eſtimates laid before us yearly to a ſelect Committee, before we take them into our Conſideration in this Committee of the whole Houſe; for if we are oblig'd to enter into the War now carrying on in *Germany*, as the utmoſt OEconomy and Frugality will be neceſſary, I hope this will be the Practice of every future Seſſion; and if we once begin it, I believe, we ſhall ſoon find good Reaſon for never laying it aſide.

'Now, Sir, with Regard to the other Queſtion, that, I mean, relating to the Number of Troops propoſed to be kept up for each reſpective Service, I ſhall firſt conſider the Queſtion in general, and, I believe, every one will grant, that for carrying on the War againſt *Spain*, we have no Occaſion, nor ought we to keep up ſuch a Number of Land Forces, even ſuppoſing we were in as free and as proſperous a Situation as ever this Nation could boaſt of; therefore by ſuch a great Number of Troops being propoſed, and eſpecially by our ſending a great Number of them to *Flanders*, I muſt ſuppoſe, that we are to become Sharers in the War now carrying on in *Germany*, not only by ſending our Money, but alſo by ſending our Troops thither, and conſequently the Matter now before us will turn chiefly upon this

* See the two Reports of the Secret Committee, at large, in the 13th Volume.

this previous Queſtion, whether it be abſolutely neceſſary for us to enter ſo deeply into the War? The Determination of which is not pretended, even by thoſe who have ſpoke in Favour of the Motion, to be founded upon any immediate and apparent Danger, but upon Apprehenſions of a Danger we may hereafter be expoſed to. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Apprehenſions, Sir, are of divers Sorts: There are real and well grounded Apprehenſions, there are imaginary Apprehenſions, and there are vain and ridiculous Apprehenſions; and I very much ſuſpect, that upon a ſtrict and impartial Examination, the Apprehenſions we are now terrified with, will appear to be of the laſt Sort. Surely we do not imagine, that all the other Nations of *Europe*, except this, are fond of putting on the Yoke of *France*, and therefore if none of them will join with us in ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, *totis Viribus*, as we ſeem reſolv'd to do, we muſt ſuppoſe, either that all the reſt of *Europe* are dull, or that we are mad. It is ſomething amazing to ſee the Minds of ſome amongſt us ſo very much altered in ſo ſhort a Time. When the late Emperor died, and the Queen of *Hungary*, his Succeſſor, was attack'd by the King of *Pruſſia*, we were ſo little afraid of the ambitious Views of *France*, that we ſeemed to encourage her in her Obſtinacy with regard to *Pruſſia*, in order to draw her into a Scheme, which was certainly formed ſomewhere, for ſtripping that young Monarch of a great Part of his Dominions. Whereas, if we had at that Time been afraid of *France*, we ſhould have adviſed, and inſiſted upon her giving Satisfaction to the King of *Pruſſia*, in order to draw him into a Confederacy, which he offered, for getting the Duke of *Lorrain* choſen Emperor, and for guarantying all the reſt of the *Auſtrian* Dominions in the Terms of the *Pragmatick Sanction*. This would have prevented its being in the Power of *France* to form any Schemes. and if it had been done, I am perſuaded, no *French* Army would ever have entered *Germany*, nor would the Elector of *Bavaria* either have been choſen Emperor, or have declared War againſt the Queen of *Hungary*. But by our Schemes at that Time, we forced the King of *Pruſſia*, contrary to his Inclination, into an Alliance with *France*, and thereby enabled and encouraged them to form all thoſe Deſigns they have ſince endeavoured to carry into Execution againſt the Queen of *Hungary* and the Liberties of *Germany*: Nay, we joined with *France* in one of the chief of them, which was that of getting the Elector of *Bavaria* choſen Emperor; and we gave no Obſtruction to the *Spaniards* in their firſt Attack upon the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*.

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'Thus, when the Queen of *Hungary* was in the greateſt Danger: When *Europe* was in the greateſt Danger, we ſeemed to have no Dread of the Deſigns of *France*; but now when the King of *Pruſſia* has been provoked by the Haughtineſs, and I believe, the Treachery of the *French* Generals, to deſert their Alliance, and when the Queen of *Hungary*, by her good Conduct, both in *Germany* and *Italy*, has by herſelf repelled her Enemies upon every Side, and obliged them to offer Peace upon the moderate Terms of *uti poſſidetis*, we have conceived moſt terrible Apprehenſions of the ambitious Deſigns of *France*. Sir, this Change in our Way of thinking, and theſe pretended Apprehenſions, are ſo evidently without any avowed Foundation, that there muſt be ſomething *in Petto*, there muſt be ſome ſecret Cauſe which it is not fit the World, or at leaſt the *Britiſh* World ſhould be made acquainted with. The happy Events of theſe laſt 16 or 18 Months, and the Terms offered by the *French* laſt Summer, have ſo much altered the State of Things in *Europe*, and have ſo clearly manifeſted, that the *French* have at preſent no Deſigns againſt the Liberties of *Europe*, that whatever we do, or attempt to do now, cannot be ſaid to be for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, but for extending her Power and leſſening the Power of *France*. I ſhall grant, that both theſe Things are very deſirable, but conſidering our Circumſtances I cannot grant, that this is a proper Time for us to make the Attempt, or that we can reaſonably hope, by ourſelves alone, to ſucceed in it. It may be laudable, it may be even prudent for a Man in good Health to undertake difficult and dangerous Expeditions; but after he has been emaciated by a tedious conſumptive Fever, he ſhould content himſelf with ſitting at home, and thinking only of Self-defence, till his Vigour be reſtored, and his Health re-eſtabliſhed. If we had done ſo, we might have been both ſtrong and healthful long before this Time; but we have been playing the Knight Errant of *Europe* for many Years paſt: Nay we have been doing what even *Don Quixot* himſelf never thought of: We have been ſetting up Windmills, in order to knock them down again. From the Year 1714 to the Year 1720, we put ourſelves to a monſtrous Charge, and involved ourſelves in a War with *Spain*, in order to increaſe the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which we then ſaid the Treaty of *Utrecht* had left too feeble in *Italy*: From the Year 1720, till very near the Time of the late Emperor's Death, we put ourſelves to a vaſt Expence in pulling down the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and raiſing the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, tho' one of the Branches of that Houſe was, during the

the whole Time of this our Knight Errantry in its Favour, insulting and hurting us in the most tender Part. By this Conduct the Power of the House of *Bourbon* has indeed been raised to a dangerous Height; and now we are to involve ourselves in new Expence and Danger, in order to pull down this Windmill we have raised, tho' like a real Windmill, it can do us no Damage, if we do not approach too near it. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'As the Power of the House of *Bourbon*, especially considering the present Union of the two Branches, (which Union was restored and cemented by our late Designs against the House of *Austria*) is certainly greater than is consistent with the Safety of *Europe*, it is very easy, Sir, for a warm Imagination to raise that Power up into a hideous Phantom; and when the War first broke out in *Germany*, when the Queen of *Hungary* was forced to retire to *Presbourgh*, and her Capital in Danger of being besieged, all the Terrors we have been frightned with in this Debate, had then some Foundation: At that Time we seemed to sit unconcerned, and even then we had more Reason to be so than any of our Neighbours; for if *France* had taken that Opportunity, contrary to her express Declaration, to propose any Accession to her own Power, either by the Cession of the *Austrian Netherlands*, or any of the *German* Principalities upon the *Rhine*, it would certainly have alarmed the *Dutch* and all the Princes of *Germany*: Even the Emperor himself would have resented such a Breach of Faith, and would have been ready to reconcile himself at any Rate with the Queen of *Hungary*, in order to form a Confederacy with the *Dutch* against *France*. They would then have been solliciting our Assistance, instead of our being reduced by our Knight Errantry to the Necessity of solliciting theirs; for this will always be the Case, whilst we are the first to take the Alarm, and to involve ourselves in a War with *France* on Account of preserving the Balance of Power.

'For this Reason, Sir, even at the Beginning of the War, when the Liberties of *Europe* were in the greatest Danger, and the Queen of *Hungary* in the greatest Distress, it was none of our Business to enter as Principals into the War, unless the *Dutch* and others Powers of *Europe*, equally concerned with us, had agreed to do the same. And suppose, that they had been all blind to their own Interest and Safety, that *France* had thereby got an Opportunity to model out *Germany* and *Italy* to her own Liking, and to take the *Austrian Netherlands* to herself: Suppose that the *Dutch* for the Sake of getting home their Troops, had submitted, and that all the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy* had for that Time at

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leaſt found themſelves under a Neceſſity of ſubmitting to this new *French* Model; can we ſuppoſe, they would all have been really ſatisfy'd with it: Can we ſuppoſe they would not have taken the firſt Opportunity to free themſelves from the Yoke they had by their Blindneſs brought themſelves under? *France* muſt then have kept Garriſons and Armies both in *Germany* and *Italy* to have preſerved this forced Submiſſion, or ſhe muſt have left them at Liberty to rebel as ſoon as they found an Opportunity. In either Caſe, can we ſuppoſe, that ſhe could have diſbanded her Land-Armies in order to encreaſe her naval Force, ſo as to render herſelf ſuperior to us at Sea? Can we ſuppoſe, that upon her firſt Breach with us, the *Dutch*, the Empire, and perhaps *Spain* itſelf, or at leaſt moſt of the Princes in *Italy*, would not have taken that Opportunity to unite together for freeing themſelves from the Yoke: Sir, it is my Opinion, that the Ambition of *France* can never deprive us of a powerful Alliance upon the Continent, if ever we ſhould be unjuſtly attack'd by her: It is our own Conduct only can deprive us of ſuch an Alliance: If upon one Hand we ſhould appear ſo indolent or unſteady, that none of the Powers upon the Continent could put any Truſt in our Counſels, this might prevent their involving themſelves in a War upon our Account: We might then have Reaſon to complain, as we did upon our Breach with *Spain*, of our having no one Ally in the World. On the other Hand, if we ſhould ſhew ourſelves too buſy, and pretend to dictate to the other Powers of *Europe*, in Affairs we had really nothing to do with, or perhaps but very little, this might render them cool to our Intereſt: They might even rejoice to ſee us a little humbled. Since I am upon this Subject, I muſt mention another Sort of Conduct, which not only may deprive us of Aſſiſtance from any of our Allies upon the Continent, but alſo render our beſt and moſt natural Friends jealous of us, and that is our ſhewing too great an Attachment to the Intereſt of the Electorate of *Hanover*, and a Readineſs to enter into any Scheme for enlarging the Dominions or purſuing the Reſentment of that Electorate.

'I hope, Sir, there is nothing of this at the Bottom of our preſent Meaſures; but, I am afraid, ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, and perhaps the *Dutch* too, have a Suſpicion of it; and this makes them ſo ſhy of joining with us in any Scheme for reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*. This I am ſure of, that unleſs the *Dutch* and the Empire, as a Body, join heartily with us, we cannot in common Prudence propoſe to undertake it. It is by much too dangerous for us, in our preſent Circumſtances, to undertake ſuch a Scheme, with

with the ſole Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*; and as the *French* have offered to withdraw their Troops out of *Germany*, and to leave the Queen of *Hungary* in Poſſeſſion of all the Dominions ſhe was poſſeſſed of at the Beginning of the War, except what ſhe has yielded up by our Mediation and at our Requeſt, I can ſee no Reaſon we had for ſending our Troops to *Flanders*, much leſs for keeping them there, and ſtill a great deal leſs for taking ſuch a Body of *Hanoverians* into our Pay; for by the Eſtimates preſented to us laſt *Friday*, [*See* p. 33.] we now ſee, that thoſe *Hanoverian* Troops have neither been ſent there, nor are to be kept there, at the Expence of that Electorate. Nay, I cannot as yet find, that the Electorate is, at its own Expence, to give any Aſſiſtance either to us or the Queen of *Hungary*, no not even the 4000 Men which it ſtands engaged to furniſh her with by the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; ſo that if any War be carried on for increaſing the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* at the Expence of *France*, it muſt be almoſt entirely at our Charge; for conſidering how the Queen of *Hungary*'s Dominions have been exhauſted, we cannot imagine, that ſhe is able to bear any tolerable Share of it. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The Charge, Sir, will conſequently fall ſo heavy upon this Nation, that, were our Circumſtances much better than they are, nothing but the greateſt and moſt imminent Danger ſhould tempt us to undertake it; and this is far from being the Caſe as the Affairs of *Europe* ſtand at preſent. I have already ſhewn, that had *France* ſucceeded in the fondeſt and higheſt Wiſhes ſhe could have at the Beginning of the War, this Nation could have been in no great Danger from her utmoſt Efforts. In the Reign of *Richard* II. we deſpiſed her Attempts by Sea, tho' ſhe was then in Poſſeſſion of, or at leaſt had in Alliance with her, all the Seventeen Provinces of the *Netherlands*, and we no one Ally upon the Continent to make a Diverſion in our Favour. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, we withſtood the Attempts of *France* and *Spain*, tho' the latter by itſelf alone was at that Time really ſuperior to us in naval Force; and can we now be ſo terrify'd with the Apprehenſions of the *French*, when we have ſuch a naval Force, that *France* and *Spain* together could not, with a ten Years uninterrupted Preparation, fit out ſuch a naval Force as would be ſuperior to ours. But ſuppoſe we ever had Reaſon for ſuch Apprehenſions, they are now removed by the Offers of Peace which *France* has made, and the Way to renew them will be by undertaking a Scheme which neither the Queen of *Hungary* nor we can execute; for if we ſhould fail in the Execution, eſpecially if our Armies ſhould happen to meet

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with a ſignal Defeat, it will rekindle the War in *Germany* with greater Fury than ever, and if *France* never had before, ſhe will then begin to conceive Hopes of being able to model *Europe* to her own Liking, and to take what Part of it ſhe pleaſes to herſelf. This may be the Conſequence of our encouraging the Queen of *Hungary* to refuſe the Terms that have been offer'd; and after our being exhauſted by a bloody and expenſive War upon the Continent, it would be more eaſy for *France* to get the Superiority of us at Sea, than it could have been had we never engaged in any ſuch War.

'In my Opinion therefore, Sir, the greateſt Danger we can have at preſent, is that which may ariſe from our engaging either as Principals or Auxiliaries in the War, and thereby encouraging the Queen of *Hungary* to refuſe the Terms that have been offered, and to form Projects of making Conqueſts from *France* by the Aſſiſtance we are to give her. It may be true, Sir, that before the late Emperor's Death, the *French* had reſolved to declare in favour of the *Spaniards* againſt us, or to behave in ſuch a Manner as to provoke us, if it was then poſſible, to declare againſt them. It may be true, that the Squadrons they ſent to the *Weſt Indies* had Orders to join with the *Spaniards* in an Attack upon our Iſland of *Jamaica*; but I have a Suſpicion, they had Encouragement from ſome People here to make that Attempt, and an Aſſurance that if they could make themſelves Maſters of that Iſland, the Nation would not be at the Expence of carrying on a War againſt the joint Power of *France* and *Spain* for its Recovery. I believe, both they and their Friends here would have found themſelves diſappointed in their Expectations; and the Diſappointment and Diſhonour they met with in that Expedition, muſt convince them, how vain it will be for them to form any Deſigns againſt us, till they can render themſelves ſuperior at Sea, which, I am perſuaded, they will not attempt for ſeveral Years to come, becauſe, I believe, their Coffers have been ſo drained by the preſent War, that they will not be able, in many Years, to ſpare ſuch vaſt Sums as will be neceſſary for preparing a Navy ſuperior to the Navy of *England*; and if they had the Ships and all other Materials, they would find it difficult to man them, either with Sailors or Soldiers fit for the Purpoſe. If they ſhould attack us before their having ſuch a Fleet ready, and we ſhould confine ourſelves to our own Element, without waſting our Strength in romantick Expeditions upon the Continent and maintaining numerous Land Armies, we ſhould be Gainers by the War, by deſtroying their Plantations and putting an entire Stop to their Trade, and thereby ridding ourſelves of our

our greateſt Rival in Manufactures and Commerce; ſo that I don't know, but it would be one of the greateſt Favours the *French* could do us to provoke us to a Sea-War, and one of the greateſt Injuries we can do ourſelves, is, to engage without Neceſſity in an expenſive Land one; and as the *French* want nothing now, but to be quiet, we can be under no ſuch Neceſſity at preſent.

'Having thus, Sir, diſcuſſed the Point of Neceſſity, and ſhewn, that all the Apprehenſions we can, with any Shadow of Reaſon, be frightned with, muſt ariſe from our engaging in the War, and not from our ſitting ſtill, give me Leave to ſay ſomething with regard to our Abilities. I ſhall readily admit, Sir, that if it were abſolutely neceſſary for us to engage in War: If Arms were of one Side and Chains of the other, I ſhould be for flying to Arms, let our Circumſtances be never ſo deplorable: I ſhould be for our pawning or parting with every Thing but our Arms; but this is far from being the Caſe, and as our People are already ſo burdened with Taxes, and all thoſe Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of old Debts, we ought not to engage in any War without an apparent and immediate Neceſſity. To guard againſt remote Dangers, and ſuch as can be ſuggeſted only by a very fruitful Imagination, is, in my Opinion, very far from being a good Reaſon for our engaging in any War under our preſent Circumſtances. We have, 'tis true, as yet many Reſources, but moſt of them are ſuch as we never ought, nor, I hope, ever will have Recourſe to, unleſs we be obliged to fight *pro Aris & Focis*.

'I am far from ſuppoſing, that we have not yet many Reſources for carrying on a neceſſary War, and for proſecuting it with Vigour for ſeveral Years, if it were to be carry'd on by Sea, or in a Country where we could from hence provide our Armies with all Sorts of Neceſſaries. Even the War we now ſeem inclined to engage in, at leaſt we have put ourſelves to a monſtrous needleſs Expence, if we are not: I ſay even this War we might find Credit and Funds to ſupport, if this were our only Conſideration. As our publick Credit is yet in a flouriſhing Condition, I believe, we might find Money to borrow, and might find Funds for ſecuring the Repayment of that Money; but in the preſent Caſe this is not our only Conſideration. As all our Troops, both National and Foreign, muſt be provided for in a diſtant Country, we muſt ſend out ſuch vaſt Sums of Money, that, I am afraid, our Balance of Trade will not anſwer our Draughts, and if it does not, the Deficiency muſt be made good out of our National Stock of Gold and Silver, which may in a few Years drain us ſo much of our ready Specie, that we ſhall not

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not have enough to circulate the vaſt Sums of Paper Credit we have now current amongſt us; and as ſoon as this happens, it will put an End to our Credit both publick and private. This may happen before we can put an End to the War upon any honourable Terms, and whenever it does, we muſt put an End to the War upon any Terms, at leaſt we muſt call home our Troops, and diſmiſs our Mercenaries, for want of Money to pay them, which would be a fatal Conſequence, and the more fatal, becauſe of our publick Credit's being loſt, and not eaſily recoverable; ſo that our Country might be expoſed to the Danger of an Invaſion, when our Government had neither Money nor Credit to raiſe an Army or fit out a Squadron; and, I am afraid, our People would not be very ready or hearty in ſupporting a Government that had brought them under ſuch Difficulties.

'In the War during the late Queen's Time, we were expoſed to no ſuch Danger. Our Balance of Trade was much greater than it is at preſent. As *France* had then no Trade, we exported a great many more Goods than we do, or can be ſuppoſed to do now; and we had not then near ſuch a large Sum to pay for Intereſt growing due Yearly to Foreigners, who have Money in our Funds. Beſides, a great Part of the Proviſions for our Army in *Flanders* was bought up here, and conveyed to them by the Way of *Holland* or *Oſtend*. Even our Armies in *Spain*, were moſtly provided for by what was bought for them in their own Country. Whereas, if we ſend our Armies to *Germany* or the *Upper Rhine*, which we muſt do, if we reſolve they ſhould aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, we can ſend them little or nothing but Money from hence. This I thought neceſſary to mention, becauſe it might not perhaps otherwiſe have occurred to Gentlemen who do not underſtand Trade; * and, I hope, our Miniſters will think ſeriouſly of it, before they involve their Country in a War which muſt be attended with ſo many Difficulties, and which ſeems, from the late Turn the Affairs of *Europe* have taken, to be quite unneceſſary.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that it has been a popular Cry, ever ſince the Death of the late Emperor, to ſupport and aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*; but among all reaſonable Men, it was upon this Condition, as was expreſſed in our Addreſs laſt Seſſion, † that the other Powers of *Europe*, equally concerned with us, ſhould join in giving her ſuch Aſſiſtance as might be effectual. And ſince we find, that none of the Powers of *Europe* will join with us, that even the Electorate of

* This Gentleman was one of the Directors of the Bank.

† See the Reſolution of the Houſe, VOL. XIII. p. 216.

of *Hanover* refuſes to join with us, or to aſſiſt us with any Troops, unleſs we pay a moſt extravagant Price for them, I believe no reaſonable Man in *England* expects or deſires, we ſhould aſſiſt her any other Way than with our Money; eſpecially as ſhe does not now ſtand in need of our Aſſiſtance, unleſs it be to make Conqueſts. Gentlemen will therefore find themſelves very much diſappointed, if they expect the Approbation of the People in ſuch a romantick Scheme as that of making Conqueſts upon *France* aſſiſted by *Spain*, without any one Ally but the Queen of *Hungary*; and if they ſhould fail in this Scheme, as they probably may, they will find themſelves expoſed not only to the Deriſion but to the higheſt Reſentment of the People; therefore for their Sakes, if I had no other Reaſon, I muſt be againſt the Hon. Gentleman's Motion.

'Before I have done, Sir, I muſt ſay a Word or two in relation to the great Number of Troops to be kept at home. I was really ſurpriſed to hear the Hon. Gentleman ſay, his Majeſty deſired no more than were allowed him the firſt Year of his Reign, and not ſo many as were allowed in the Year 1735. When the Hon. Gentleman ſaid ſo, he certainly forgot the Marines, which being all regimented are as regular Troops, and very near as expenſive, as any marching Regiment in our Service; and tho' it would be proper, if they are ever to ſerve as Marines, to have them on board our Men of War, and ſometimes ſent to Sea, in order to ſeaſon and breed them up to the Service, I believe, all or moſt of them now lie a Burden upon the Country People. I muſt therefore look upon theſe Marines as Land Forces, including them, as will appear by the Eſtimates, we are to keep at home above 35,000 Men, and that at a Time when we are to take Foreign Troops into our Pay at a monſtrous Price. Sir, if our Schemes made it neceſſary to form ſuch a great Army in *Flanders* what Occaſion had we for 16,000 *Hanoverians?* Might not we out of 35,000 have ſpared to ſend 16,000 more of our own Troops to *Flanders?* Will it be ſaid, that in Time of War we muſt always keep 35,000 Land Forces in this Iſland to protect us againſt ſudden Invaſions? Are we to ſuppoſe our People ſo much diſaffected in any Part of the Iſland, that moſt of them would join an invading Enemy, if not immediately prevented by the Arrival of a large Body of regular Troops? God forbid, Sir, I ſhould make a Suppoſition ſo injurious to his Majeſty and our preſent Royal Family. The Danger of a ſudden Invaſion and the Diſaffection of the People have always, I know, been made a Pretence for keeping up within the Iſland a greater Number of regular Troops than

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than we had any Occaſion for, but it was never carried to ſuch an extravagant Height as now; and I am ſorry this ſhould happen under the Adminiſtration of ſome Gentlemen, who have for ſo many Years been exclaiming againſt numerous ſtanding Armies.

'But we are told, now it is Time of War, and a ſtanding Army in Time of War is not inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. Sir, War or Peace, a numerous ſtanding Army kept within the Iſland, when we are not at War amongſt ourſelves, I ſay, is inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. If we are to ſend an Army abroad, let it be raiſed, but let it be ſent abroad as ſoon as poſſible; and when the War is over, and the Army called home, let it be diſbanded as ſoon as poſſible. This was our antient Method: This, and this alone is agreeable to our Conſtitution. If it were otherwiſe, it would be eaſy for an ambitious King to keep the Nation always at War, in order to have an Excuſe for keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army at home, not for ſubduing his Foreign Enemies, but for ſubduing his People: Therefore more of our Land Forces ought to have been ſent abroad, or not ſo many of them raiſed; and if any more Troops are deſigned for *Flanders*, they ſhould have been put in an Eſtimate by themſelves, in order to avoid a Precedent for keeping above 35,000 Men in the Iſland at a Time when there is no Rebellion, nor ſo much as the Appearance of an Inſurrection in any Part of it; therefore when the Queſtion comes to be put upon the Number of Troops for Guards and Garriſons, I ſhall, I believe, be againſt it, as heartily as I am againſt the Queſtion now under your Conſideration.

Farther Arguments for and againſt continuing the Britiſh Forces in Flanders, viz.

Againſt Sir *William Yonge*'s Motion for continuing the *Britiſh* Forces in *Flanders*, it was urg'd, 'That by this Step we ſhould, with one War upon our Hands, draw ourſelves into another.' — To this it was anſwered by the Miniſtry, 'That we entered into the ſecond War, becauſe we were bound by the ſtrongeſt Ties of Treaty and publick Faith to do it; becauſe the firſt War could never have been brought to a happy Concluſion without it; becauſe the ſecond Enemy ſupported the firſt; becauſe the ſecond Power, without entering avowedly into that War, ſupplied, encouraged, and fomented the Difference between us and the firſt; and becauſe there is more Safety in an open Enemy, than in a falſe Friend: becauſe the Views of the firſt and ſecond Enemy co incided with each other; and becauſe we were certain, that the ſecond Enemy would have joined the firſt, with her whole and an irreſiſtible Force, when ſhe had finiſhed her Work

Engaging the Nation in a ſecond War.

Work in *Germany*, and that then we ſhould have had to deal with both theſe Powers, without any one Ally in the World; whereas, by joining againſt the ſecond, at the Time we did it, we were able to act in Conjunction with ſome of the greateſt Powers in *Europe*, and a reaſonable Expectation of the Aid of more; becauſe the raſh Attempts of the firſt Power, partly to gratify her own wild Ambition, and partly to aſſiſt the Plan of the ſecond, had afforded us the Means, if we engaged againſt the ſecond, of ruining the Armies of the firſt, of confining her Fleets from any Poſſibility of doing us any Harm, and in fine, of diſappointing her moſt favourite Views, of exhauſting her Revenues, and of throwing her Government into Confuſion in one Campaign, more than by any other Way of waging War with her to the End of the World.—And that all this could be Only done, when we had the one War upon our Hands, by engaging in the other.' An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

A ſecond Objection was, 'That hereby we ſhould make ourſelves Principals in a War, wherein we ought to be only Auxiliaries.' To this it was replied, 'That the Aſſertion is abſolutely and notoriouſly falſe in Fact, for we have hitherto not been Principals in this War in any Senſe whatever; we have acted only as Auxiliaries to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And that we ought to be Auxiliaries was agreed on all Hands.' Making ourſelves Principals.

It was alſo aſk'd, 'Why do we run ourſelves into Expences we can't bear, into Difficulties we ſhall find it ſo hard, if not impoſſible to get out of, into Inconveniencies we ſee no End of, Purſuits where there is nothing to gain, and Struggles in which we have ſo much to loſe?'—To this Queſtion the Anſwer was, 'That the great Supplies of the laſt Year had been rais'd upon Terms as low as they ever were in Times of the moſt profound Peace; while the Enemy, we were engaged with, could not raiſe the Sums he wanted, at twice the Rate of Intereſt we pay. That as to the Inconveniencies being endleſs, it is undoubtedly true that no human Reaſon can preſcribe an exact Period to any War, the Inconveniencies of which muſt laſt till ſuch War is determined; but if this be an Objection, it is ſuch a one, as muſt make againſt engaging in any War, however juſt or neceſſary, in any Country or Conjuncture whatſoever: That it could not be ſaid we had nothing to gain, when we had a Proſpect of reſtoring that faithful Ally, which is alone able to ſtem the Ambition of the *French* Monarch, the implacable and ever dangerous Enemy of this Country; and that thoſe Men muſt be deſtitute both of Common Senſe and Running into endleſs Expences, and vain Purſuits.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

and Honeſty, who contend, that we ſhould lie by in Time of Danger: For when are Men to ſtruggle, but when they have ſo much to loſe, as the Trade, the Independency, the Religion, and the Freedom of their Country?

Aſſiſting the Queen of Hungary with Troops inſtead of Money.

A Fourth Queſtion was, 'Why, if the Queen of *Hungary* is to be farther aſſiſted, do we, inſtead of ſending her Money, which might aſſiſt her, expend treble the Money ſhe would be thankful for, in raiſing Forces that can't aſſiſt her? — And to this the Anſwer was, 'That though ſhe might have been thankful for a third Part of the Money, which our Troops coſt us, as any Power in her late deplorable Circumſtances would have been, it was not her Thanks, but her Preſervation from immediate Ruin; it was not her Gratitude, but the Recovery of her Power to ballance France, which it was our Buſineſs to procure; it muſt have been an Aid that would be effectual, or we ſhould have left her worſe than we found her. That this Inſinuation, that a pecuniary Aid would have been alone effectual, was far from being true, though the whole Money, which our Armies coſt us, had been remitted to *Vienna*: Becauſe ſuch immenſe Sums, exported out of this Country thither, would have diſtreſſed us greatly, and would have none of it return'd; it would have therefore been impracticable to have continued this Expence for any Time: Whereas, by Experience of the laſt War, it was manifeſt, that very near two-thirds of the Charge of the Armies we maintained within a nearer Diſtance of this Country, returned to us again; and we had had a Proof that we could ſupport a War in this Method without any vaſt Diminution of our Specie: Becauſe ſuch immenſe Sums muſt, from the Nature of that Court, have been much waſted or conſumed; but, however applied, could not ſo conveniently have anſwered our Ends, becauſe we ſhould have loſt the Advantage of a Diverſion to the Forces of *France*, which is a Meaſure of the greateſt Benefit in War. Becauſe we ſhould have loſt the Advantage that reſulted from the Security of the Barrier, from the Encouragement of the *Dutch*, from the Protection of the States and Circles lying upon the Confines of *France*, and the Influence we have ſince manifeſtly gained upon the Diet of the Empire. Becauſe no other Meaſure could have put it in our Power to attack and penetrate into *France* itſelf, if God ſhould proſper our Arms with any remarkable Succeſs, and becauſe by this Apprehenſion the Flower of her Armies have been conſequently retained at home, and ſhe more likely to be brought to Terms of reaſonable Accommodation. That by this Means we availed ourſelves of two great Points;

of

of the Cavalry of the Allies, which is the beſt in *Europe*, and muſt have been for the greateſt Part unemployed in this Quarrel, if the War had not been carried on in this Manner; and of the natural Superiority which Confederated Powers have over a ſingle Nation, and what was our manifeſt Advantage in the laſt War, *viz.* that the Loſs of Men on our Part will fall more equally, and will be leſs felt; while the whole Loſs of *France* falls upon her own Nation, from whence alone ſhe is able to recruit; which Circumſtance, all other Things ſuppoſed to be equal, muſt enable the Queen of *Hungary* to ſuſtain the War longer, and with leſs Inconvenience than the *French*. That the *Auſtrian* Dominions are by no Means inexhauſtible of Men; tho' the *French* have ſuffered more, yet the *Auſtrians* have loſt a great Number, and it is a certain Fact, that *France* alone contains more Inhabitants than all the Countries of the Queen of *Hungary* put together. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

It was demanded, 'Why the Miniſtry diſſuaded the Queen of *Hungary* from liſtening to all Offers of Accommodation laſt Summer, and particularly at the Siege of *Prague?* Why did they endeavour to prevent her accepting the Terms propoſed of reciprocal Evacuations of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria*, leaving other Claims and Pretenſions to future Negotiations and civil Deciſion; which is the End they muſt come to, unleſs theſe Squabbles laſt for ever? To this it was replied, 'That if it was done, it was done wiſely: For that theſe Offers of Accommodation were in Effect no more than a Ceſſation of Arms, the only View of which was to prevent the Ruin of 30,000 Regular Troops of *France*. That the City of *Prague*, which was then every Day expected to fall into the *Auſtrian* Hands, was all that the Queen of *Hungary* could have gained by this Ceſſation; that therefore 'tis not to be wonder'd at, that ſhe was not inclin'd to truſt to a new Capitulation with that very Body of Troops, who, had they not, contrary to all Military Faith and Rules of War broke a Capitulation, by which they ſaved their Lives at *Lintz* a few Months before, could not have been at *Prague* in that Conjuncture to have demanded a ſecond Opportunity to abuſe her Mercy. That ſhe could nowiſe be blam'd for refuſing to truſt to the inſidious Offers, to the Faith of that perfidious Power; Offers, that gave no Aſſurance of any Accommodation; Offers plainly calculated to enable her Enemies to fall upon her immediately after, with redoubled Force, tending only to deprive her of the happy Opportunity of giving the greateſt Blow to *France*, that was ever given to her in one Campaign; Offers to bribe her by an Advantage, which Diſſuading her from an Accommodation with the Emperor.

was,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

was, in fact, already in her Hands, to be guaranty'd to her by the Honour and Honesty of *France*, confirmed by the additional Power of their releaſed Army, and ſecured by the Reſervation of the Emperor's Title to all her Dominions, which the Emperor has, by his Memorials, ſince actually avowed as his Intention never to have departed from! That if this Step had not been taken, by this Time indeed we ſhould not have had an Army in *Flanders*; nor would there have been a ſingle Army in *Europe*, that could have ventured to have oppoſed the Views of *France*; the Queen of *Hungary*, attacked by the collected Force of *France*, would have clearly underſtood what was meant by the future Negotiations, and the civil Deciſion then propoſed to her; ſhe muſt have ſubmitted long e'er now to the Will of that relentleſs Power; and we ſhould have had all our Thoughts vainly turn'd to the entrenching our ſelves in our own Iſland againſt the united Powers of *France* and *Spain*.

Engaging without the Dutch;

It was ask'd, 'Why we embarqued in this Meaſure, without the Junction, Conſent, Approbation, or even Participation of *Holland*? — And to this the Anſwer was, 'That it was abſolutely falſe that they refuſed to join at all, or that they gave us Reaſon to believe that they never would conſent, and that they had given us to underſtand that they had condemned our Undertaking; whereas the Fact was only this, That they would not join in the Inſtant that we firſt deſir'd; that they would not conſent till they found that they might depend upon the Vigour and Stability of our Adminiſtration; that they would not publickly approve of a Meaſure, in which it was not ſafe for them to engage, till they ſaw a Force ſufficient to protect them.

And taking upon ourſelves the whole Burden of the War.

Further it was urg'd, 'That we alone have taken upon us the Hazards, Burdens, and Expences of a Scheme, which all the Powers of *Europe* combined would not perhaps be able to execute, and which no Power in *Europe* will aſſiſt us in? — To this the Miniſtry replied, 'That *England* had not alone taken upon itſelf the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of this War: For the Houſe of *Auſtria* has now in different Parts, and in different Armies, no leſs than 180,000 Men: Under Prince *Charles* 63,000; under other Generals in *Germany*, employed in the Sieges or Blockades of *Egra*, *Ingoldſtadt*, &c. 30,000: With the King of *Sardinia* and Count *Traun* 27,000; in *Flanders*, and upon the *Rhine*, 20,000; in the *Trentine*, and the *Tirol*, and adjacent Parts of *Bavaria*, 15,000; upon the *Adriatick*, ready to ſuccour, either the *Italian* Armies, or to be carried into the *Neapolitan* Dominions by our Fleets, 12,000; and at leaſt 13,000 Men in the Garriſons

Garriſons of *Auſtria*, the different Parts of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, and other Provinces which, bordering upon the *Turk*, can never be totally left unfurniſhed: That the King of *Sardinia* has above 40,000, and with his Militia above 60000, which amounts at leaſt to Two Hundred and Forty Thouſand Men, towards which we contributed no more than the Vote of 500,000 *l.*

Theſe, with what has been exhibited in the foregoing Speeches, were the main Arguments alledged for and againſt the Motion, which we have endeavoured to ſtate in the ſtrongeſt Light on each Side; ever mindful of that Caution which every Hiſtorian ought to bear eternally in his Mind, *Ne quid falſi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.*

Sir W. Yonge's Motion for employing 16359 Men in Flanders agreed to.

The Queſtion being put upon Sir *William Yonge*'s Motion, 'That 534,763 *l.* 5 *s.* be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of 16,359 effective Men, (Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included) to be employed in *Flanders* for the Year 1743,' the ſame was agreed to, on a Diviſion, Ayes 280, Noes 160.

A Motion being made to adjourn, it paſſed in the Negative, Ayes 153, Noes 267.

Then it was farther Reſolv'd, That a Number of Land Forces for Guards, Garriſons, and other Services, (including 2322 Invalids) amounting to 23,610 effective Men, (Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included) be employed for the Service of the Year 1743.

Farther Grants in the Committee of Supply for the Army.

That 647,862 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* be granted unto his Majeſty for defraying the Charge thereof.

That 266,616 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* be granted to his Majeſty for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the *Plantations*, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*; and for Proviſions for the Garriſons of *Annapolis-Royal*, *Canſo*, *Placentia*, *Providence*, *Gibraltar*, and *Georgia*, for the Year 1743.

That 11,550 Marines (Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included) employed for the Year 1742, be continued for the Service of the Year 1743.

That 206,253 *l.* 15 *s.* be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of the ſaid Marines.

Land-Tax Bill paſs'd.

Dec. 7. The Land Tax Bill was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent by Mr *Francis Fane* to the Lords.

A Petition of the Priſoners for Debt, in the Caſtle of *York*, complaining of their Diſtreſs, and praying Relief, was order'd to lie upon the Table.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Committee appointed to review the Vagabond Act.

Then a Committee was appointed to conſider the Act made in the Thirteenth Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, *For amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, and other idle and diſorderly Perſons, and for reducing the ſame into one Act of Parliament:* And alſo, *for amending the Laws for erecting, providing, and regulating Houſes of Correction*; and to report their Opinion, as to what Amendment may be proper to be made thereunto. And it was ordered, That the ſaid Committee do conſider the Laws relating to the Poor, ſo far as the ſame concern the Removal and Relief of poor Perſons; and report their Opinion as to what Amendments may be proper to be made thereto.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported the foregoing Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply, and the Houſe divided on the Second, which paſs'd in the Affirmative, Ayes 190, Noes 113. Then the reſt were agreed to.

Duty on Malt, &c. continued.

Dec. 9. Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolution, which was agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, be further continued from the 23d of *June*, 1743, to the 24th Day of *June*, 1744: And a Bill was order'd in, purſuant to the ſaid Reſolution, by Mr *Francis Fane*, Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr *Compton*, Sir *John Ruſhout*, Mr *Gybbon*, Mr Attorney General, Mr Solicitor General, Mr *Scrope*, and Mr * *Jeffreys*.

Bill for recovering ſmall Debts.

Ordered alſo a Bill to be brought in, for the more eaſy and ſpeedy Recovery of ſmall Debts, by Mr *Hungerford*, Mr *Wilkinſon*, Mr *Vere*, and Mr *Hay*.

Dec. 10. General *Wade* preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Addreſs to his Majeſty, an Eſtimate of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for the Year 1743 -- Land Service; which was ordered to lye upon the Table, to be peruſed by the Members.

Mr *Francis Fane* preſented to the Houſe a Bill for the continuing the Duties upon Malt, *&c.* which was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Petition for Wotton-Baſſet withdrawn.

The ſame Day *Nicholas Robinſon*, Eſq; withdrew his Petition for *Wotton-Baſſet*. [*See p.* 32.]

Then Mr Secretary at War preſented to the Houſe (by his Majeſty's Command) a Liſt of the Troops of *Hanover* now in *Flanders*, including the General Officers and Train of Artillery, together with their Pay; which was ordered to be referred

* Lately made one of the Chief Clerks of the Treaſury, in the Room of Mr Henry Furneſe, who was ſo appointed on the Change in the Treaſury, on the Reſignation of Sir Robert Walpole.

referred to the Committee of Supply: As was likewiſe the Account of the Charge of the Troops of *Hanover*, in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the 31ſt of *Auguſt* to the 25th of *December* 1742; and the Eſtimate of the Charge of the ſaid Troops from the 26th of *December* 1742, to the 25th of *December* 1743. Alſo the Eſtimate of the Charge of the *Heſſian* Troops, paid by *Great Britain*, from the 26th of *December* 1742, to the 25th of *December* 1743, both incluſive.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Debate on the Hanover Forces in Britiſh Pay.

The Houſe having reſolv'd itſelf into the ſaid Committee, Sir *William Yonge* ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Sir W. Yonge.

Sir,

'The Knowledge which his Majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to us in his Speech from the Throne, and the apparent Danger to which the Liberties of *Europe* are now expoſed, would render it very unneceſſary for me to ſay any Thing in favour of the Motion I am to make, if great Pains had not lately been taken, to repreſent the moſt wiſe and neceſſary Meaſure that was ever thought on, as a chimerical Project, concerted for no other End but that of enriching the Electorate of *Hanover* at the Expence and Hazard of this Kingdom. Upon this Occaſion, Things have been ſaid, nay Things have been printed and publiſhed, which, in my Opinion, ought to be deemed High Treaſon by every Man who has a Regard for the Proteſtant Succeſſion; for they have firſt repreſented it as a Condition in the Act of Settlement, that we ſhould never be put to any Expence, or brought into any Danger, on account of the Electorate of *Hanover*; and then they have endeavoured to ſhew, that all our Foreign Meaſures ever ſince the Acceſſion of the preſent Royal Family, have been calculated for the Intereſt or Aggrandiſement of that Electorate. If this were true, the Inference would be natural, that the Condition of the Act of Settlement being broke, the Settlement itſelf is become void. This, Sir, is an Argument, that, if there were any Truth in it, I ſhould tremble to mention; but every one knows, that there is no ſuch Condition in the Act of Settlement, nor has this Nation ever been put to any Expence, or brought into any Danger, on account of that Electorate.

'From what has lately happened, Sir: From the Method of arguing now made uſe of by ſome People, which is ſo very different from that they formerly made uſe of, it is very plain, that unleſs they are themſelves employed, and employed too in ſuch Stations as they may be pleaſed to preſcribe to his Majeſty, they will never approve, they will always oppoſe and find fault with the Meaſures purſued by the Adminiſtra-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

tion. As long as our Miniſters wiſely endeavoured to prevent a War, by taking every peaceable Method for obtaining Satisfaction for ourſelves, and Security for our Allies, thoſe Gentlemen exclaimed againſt our puſillanimous Meaſures, and endeavoured to ridicule our Negotiations: War and Bloodſhed was then their favourite Cry, and nothing would ſatisfy them but an immediate Declaration of War, let the Conſequence be what it would. Our Negotiations at laſt proved ineffectual: Our Miniſters were forced into a War, and one of our principal Allies has been attacked, and is now in Danger of being ſwallowed up: The moſt effectual Meaſures have been concerted by our Adminiſtration, and are now purſuing in the moſt vigorous Manner, both for diſtreſſing our Enemies and ſupporting our Allies. Upon this, thoſe Gentlemen have quite altered their Tone: The diſtreſſed Condition of our Country is ſet in its ſtrongeſt Light, the Situation of our Ally is ſaid to be deſperate, and the Power of our Enemies irreſiſtible; from whence they conclude, that our preſent Meaſures are romantick and chimerical. Thus, if our Miniſters endeavour to avoid a War by Negociation, which every wiſe Adminiſtration will, they are ſaid to be Poltrons; and if they proſecute it with Vigour and Reſolution, when they are forced into it, which they muſt and ought, they are ſaid to be Don Quixots.

'Theſe, Sir, are the different Methods of arguing made uſe of by thoſe who happen not to have at preſent any Share in our Adminiſtration, and from this Difference they really, in my Opinion, give Room to ſuppoſe, that their Oppoſition proceeds not from any Conviction of the Badneſs of our Meaſures, but from their having no Share in adviſing or carrying them on. But to come to the Point in Queſtion, and to examine whether or no it will be right in us to take the *Hanover* Troops into our Pay, and to keep them in Pay till the Affairs of *Germany* are ſettled, and the Balance of Power reſtored, let us conſider the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, and the Conſequences that may enſue from our taking no Share in the War now carrying on againſt the Queen of *Hungary*. If we do not aſſiſt her, if we do not reſolve to aſſiſt her *totis viribus*, it is evident, that none of the other Powers of *Europe* will; and if ſhe receives no Aſſiſtance, it is as evident, that ſhe muſt at laſt ſubmit to ſuch Terms of Peace as *France* ſhall pleaſe to preſcribe; for it is impoſſible for her, by herſelf alone, to withſtand the united Force of *France*, *Spain*, and the preſent Emperor of *Germany*, the latter of whom would probably, in ſuch a Caſe, be ſupported by the joint Power of the Empire; for if the Princes and

and States of the Empire ſhould ſee her forſaken by all her Allies, a Majority of them would in all Probability be induced to put her to the Ban of the Empire, for defending her own Dominions againſt a Prince whom they have choſen for their Head. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Suppoſe then the preſent Emperor eſtabliſhed in his Imperial Dignity, and in the Poſſeſſion of a great Part of the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by the Favour and Power of *France*: Suppoſe the *Spaniards*, or *Don Philip* of *Spain*, by the ſame Means, eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of all or moſt of the *Auſtrian* Dominions in *Italy*, what fatal Conſequences might not this Nation expect, even as to our own particular Concerns? We know the Circumſtances we are now in with Regard to *Spain*: We know how much it is the Intereſt of *France* to deſtroy our Trade, and to diveſt us of our valuable Poſſeſſions in the *Mediterranean*, as well as of many of our Plantations in *America*: We know how ready *France* was, but very lately, to join with *Spain* againſt us. What could we expect, if the Emperor of *Germany*, and all the Princes and States of *Italy*, were thus brought under a Sort of Dependence upon *France*? Could we expect any Aſſiſtance from the *Dutch*? They would not dare to ſend a ſingle Ship to help us. Could we expect any Aſſiſtance from the *Portugueſe*, or from any of the States in *Italy*? They would not dare to aſſiſt us: They would probably be induced, or compelled, even to forbid us their Ports. Theſe were the fatal Conſequences we had great Reaſon to apprehend at the Beginning of laſt Summer; and were we to do nothing, to attempt nothing, for preventing them? By the wiſe and vigorous Meaſures we have ſince taken, we have brought off the King of *Pruſſia* * from his Alliance with *France*: We have prevail'd on the King of *Sardinia* to declare openly in our Favour; and if we continue the ſame Meaſures, we may probably ſoon perſuade ſome other Powers to take the ſame Courſe.

'It is not yet, Sir, a Twelvemonth ſince it was the Opinion of ſome Gentlemen, that the unfortunate State of Affairs Abroad, and the Inactivity of the *Dutch*, as well as of ſeveral Princes of the Empire, were entirely owing to the puſillanimous Meaſures we had purſued, and to a Suppoſition, that we would no Way concern ourſelves with any of the Affairs upon the Continent. This, it was ſaid, had render'd it impoſſible for the other Powers of *Europe* to form any Confederacy againſt the ambitious Schemes of *France*,

* See the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords in this Seſſion, P. 228.

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and had even made ſome of them join with *France*, who would otherwiſe have been ready to have joined with us againſt her. If there was any Truth in this Argument, ſurely it was neceſſary for us to give, as ſoon as poſſible, a convincing Proof that we had not deſerted the Cauſe of *Europe*, but on the contrary were as ready as ever to ſpend our Blood and our Treaſure in Defence of the Liberties thereof. This we did by ſending a powerful Squadron into the *Mediterranean*, for the Support of the King of *Sardinia*, and by ſending an Army of our own Troops into *Flanders*; but neither of theſe Meaſures will ſignify any Thing, unleſs we proceed further; and for this Reaſon it became abſolutely neceſſary for us to take a large Body of Foreign Troops into our Pay, in order to form ſuch an Army as might give effectual Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, in caſe *France* ſhould perſiſt in the Proſecution of her ambitious Views.

'For this Reaſon, the *Heſſian* Troops were ordered to march to *Flanders*, and his Majeſty moſt graciouſly agreed to lend us a large Body of his own Troops, which were likewiſe ordered to march to *Flanders*, in order to join our Troops there; and theſe Troops, together with the *Auſtrian* Troops now in *Flanders*, will form ſuch an Army as will, I hope, encourage ſome other Powers to declare openly in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. It has already had ſo good an Effect, that both the Emperor and *France* have begun to confine their Views, and have very much leſſened their Demands; for they have already offered Terms, which they would have diſdained to give Ear to, at the Beginning of laſt Campaign. So far therefore ought we to be from appearing in the leaſt unwilling to take this Body of *Hanoverian* Troops into our Pay, that, I think, we ought to thank his Majeſty for being ſo ready to aſſiſt us with a Body of his Electoral Troops, at a Time, perhaps, when it would not have been eaſy for us to have got any other Troops to hire.

'To every one therefore who conſiders the fatal Conſequences which muſt enſue to this Nation in particular, from *France*'s bringing almoſt all the Powers of *Europe* under a Sort of Dependence upon her, the taking of this Body of *Hanoverian* Forces into our Pay, and their March to join our Army in *Flanders*, muſt appear to be a Step abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of *Great Britain*, and conſequently not in the leaſt owing to a Deſign of enriching the Electorate of *Hanover* at the Expence of *Great Britain*.

'I ſhall indeed grant, that the Support of thoſe Troops, whilſt they are in our Pay, will be a very great Expence to this

this Nation; but their March into *Flanders* is a manifeſt Proof that this Meaſure was not calculated for the enriching of *Hanover*, becauſe the Money we pay to them will not be ſpent in *Hanover*, but in *Flanders*, or ſome other Part of *Europe*, where they ſhall happen to be employ'd, which can never be ſuppos'd to be in *Hanover*. On the contrary, as many of the Officers are Gentlemen of Fortune, they will, and always do ſpend more than their Pay, and conſequently their living in *Flanders*, or in ſome Foreign Country, will draw Money out of the Electorate of *Hanover*, as well as out of the Iſland of *Great Britain*. In ſhort, to ſuppoſe, that the ſending of 16000 Men out of a Country, is done with a Deſign to enrich that Country, is, in my Opinion, one of the moſt extraordinary Notions that could ever enter into any Man's Head, and muſt vaniſh as ſoon as we begin to think ſeriouſly and coolly upon the Subject. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The ſending of thoſe Men into *Flanders* can be of no manner of Service to the Electorate of *Hanover*, any further than as it may contribute to the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*; and to ſay, that we ought not to pay thoſe Troops, becauſe they will contribute towards the Advantage of *Hanover* as well as of this Kingdom, is an Argument that will hold equally good againſt our taking any other foreign Troops into our Pay. As the Loſs of our own Liberties muſt neceſſarily follow that of the Liberties of *Europe*, we ought not to conſider, what other States may do, or what Advantage they may reap by our doing; but when the Liberties of *Europe* come to be in Danger, we ought to do all we can for extricating them out of that Danger; for if other Nations ſhould ſeem willing to ſubmit to the Yoke, it is no Reaſon for our doing the ſame; and therefore, I ſhall never think it romantick in us, to endeavour to prevent our being led into Captivity, were the odds againſt us much greater than they are; for Succeſs has often ariſen from Deſpair, and Nations have been ſaved, after having loſt all hopes of Safety. It is not Loſs of Hopes, Sir, but Loſs of Courage that enſlaves a Nation: And I hope the Event of this Day will ſhew that we are *Britons*.

'But why, Sir, ſhould we talk of Deſpair, or of loſing all Hopes of Succeſs in any Deſign for ſetting Bounds to the ambitious Projects of *France?* The late and preſent Condition of the Queen of *Hungary* is a ſtrong Argument againſt it. About a Year ago, who would have ſaid, that ſhe could now have been at *Vienna*, or in Poſſeſſion of any Part of her Dominions, except ſuch as ſhe might have obtained

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from the Courteſy of *France?* yet, by the Courage of her own Troops, and a little Aſſiſtance from us, we now find her not only reſiſting but triumphing in *Germany*, and in Poſſeſſion of all her Dominions except ſuch as ſhe has yielded to *Pruſſia*, and * two ſingle Towns in *Bohemia*, both of which are block'd up by her Troops, and the Garriſons of both in the utmoſt Diſtreſs. How then can we think it to be either romantick or chimerical in us, to propoſe giving her ſuch Aſſiſtance as may compel her Enemies to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms of Peace, and ſuch as may reſtore the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and eſtabliſh it upon a ſolid and laſting Foundation.

'This, Sir, we may do: We have now, I think, a very great Probability of being able to do it; but we never could, nor can we now propoſe being able to do it, without taking Foreign Troops into our Pay; and as a ſmall Aſſiſtance now will be much more effectual than a much greater would be, after our Ally the Queen of *Hungary* is reduced to the laſt Extremity, therefore, I muſt think it was right in us, to take the firſt Troops we could get, which happened to be thoſe of the Electorate of *Hanover*. At our Requeſt they have already marched and joined our Troops in *Flanders*. His Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, has already, upon our Account, put himſelf to a very great Charge. He put ſuch a Confidence in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and in the Zeal we have hitherto ſhewn for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, that without any expreſs Parliamentary Engagement, he ordered his Troops to march; and therefore, I think, we are in Honour obliged to make good the Expence he has been at. Nay, I think, we are under a Sort of legal Obligation to make good this Expence; for by our Addreſs of the 23d of *March* laſt, we expreſsly promiſed to ſupport his Majeſty in all ſuch Meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary for reſtoring the Balance of Power and re-eſtabliſhing the Tranquility of *Europe*; † ſo that we are not only in Honour, but by our own expreſs Promiſe obliged to make good the Expence his Majeſty has put himſelf to, or may be at, by the March of his Troops into *Flanders*.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, I cannot ſuppoſe, that I ſhall meet with any Oppoſition as to the firſt Motion I am to make, which is, to reſolve, 'That the Sum of 265,191*l.* '6*s.* 2*d.* ¼. be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the 'Charge of 5513 Horſe, and 10,755 Foot, of the Troops 'of *Hanover*, (together with the General Officers and the Train

* Prague and Egra. † See Vol. XIII. p. 216.

'Train of Artillery) in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the '31ſt Day of *Auguſt*, to the 25th Day of *December* 1742, 'both incluſive.' An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'This Reſolution, I ſay, Sir, cannot well be oppoſed, becauſe we are both in Honour, and by a Sort of Parliamentary Promiſe engaged to comply with it; and after this Reſolution is agreed to, I ſhall then take the Liberty to move for ſuch a Sum as, by the Eſtimate before you, appears to be neceſſary for keeping thoſe Troops in our Pay during the enſuing Year, which, I hope, will be as readily complied with; for tho' the Army we have now formed in *Flanders*, in Conjunction with the Queen of *Hungary*'s Troops there, may have a very good Effect towards procuring good Terms of Peace, yet as that Effect cannot be immediately expected, every Gentleman muſt ſee, that it would be abſolutely diſappointed, and all the Expence we have already put ourſelves to rendered vain and uſeleſs, if *France* and the *Emperor* ſhould find that the Parliament of *Great Britain* refuſed to keep thoſe foreign Troops in its Pay for one Year longer.

'We have already, Sir, ſhewn a laudable Zeal for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*: We have already put ourſelves to a conſiderable Expence; and no longer ago than in *March* laſt, we gave it as our Opinion, in our Addreſs to his Majeſty, which I have already mentioned, that we thought we had reaſonable Grounds to hope, that the Balance of Power might be again reſtored, and the Tranquility of *Europe* re-eſtabliſhed. I am ſure, nothing has happened ſince that Time, which can afford us the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon for altering our Opinion; ſo that if we now begin, thro' Deſpair, or any other Motive, to draw back, and to refuſe putting ourſelves to the Expence neceſſary for obtaining that which we then thought we had ſo good Reaſon to hope for, it can proceed from nothing but an Unſteadineſs of Temper, which we are, I fear, but too juſtly accuſed of by Foreigners, and therefore we ought, upon this Occaſion, to be the more cautious of doing any Thing that may confirm them in ſuch an Opinion.

The Hon. Mr *Powlett* ſeconded the Motion:

Sir,

'The Honourable Gentleman has with ſo much Clearneſs and Elegance diſplayed the State of *Europe*, explained the Neceſſity of hiring foreign Troops, and ſhewed the Reaſons for which the Troops of *Hanover* were preferred to thoſe of any other Nation, that I believe it not to be of any Hon. Mr Powlett.

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any Uſe to urge other Arguments than thoſe which he has produced.

'As therefore it is indiſputably neceſſary to hire Troops, and none can be hired which can be ſo ſafely truſted as thoſe of *Hanover*, I cannot but agree with the Right Hon. Gentleman, that this Meaſure of his Majeſty ought to be ſupported.'

Sir John St Aubyn.

Sir *John St Aubyn* then ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'It is with the greateſt Difficulties that I riſe up to give you this Trouble, and particularly after the Hon. Gentleman with whom I am ſo very unequal to contend: But when my Aſſent is required to a Propoſition, ſo big with Miſchiefs, of ſo alarming a Nature to this Country, and which I think, notwithſtanding what the Hon. Gentleman has moſt ingeniouſly ſaid, muſt determine from this very Day, who deſerves the Character and Appellation of a *Briton*, I hope you will forgive me, if I take this laſt Opportunity which perhaps I may ever have of ſpeaking with the Freedom of a *Briton* in this Houſe.

'I am not able to follow the Hon. Gentleman in any Refinements of Reaſoning upon our foreign Affairs, I have not Subtilty enough to do it, nor is it in my Way as a private Country Gentleman: But tho' Country Gentlemen have not that Sagacity in Buſineſs, and, for Want of proper Lights being afforded us, the Penetration of Miniſters into publick Affairs; yet give me Leave to ſay, they have one Kind of Senſe which Miniſters of State ſeldom have, and at this Time it is of ſo acute a Nature, that it muſt overthrow the Arguments of the moſt refined Adminiſtration. This is the Senſe of feeling the univerſal Diſtreſſes of their Country, the utter Incapacity it now lies under of ſuſtaining the heavy Burdens that are impoſing upon it.

'This I take to be the firſt, the great Object of this Day's Debate: Conſider well your Strength at home, before you entangle yourſelves abroad; for if you proceed without a ſufficient Degree of that, your Retreat will be certain and ſhameful, and may in the End prove dangerous. Without this firſt, this neceſſary Principle, whatever may be the Machinations, the viſionary Schemes of Miniſters, whatever Colourings they may heighten them with, to miſlead our Imaginations, they will prove in the End for no other Purpoſe, but to precipitate this Nation, by empty captivating Sounds, into the private Views and Intrigues of ſome Men, ſo low perhaps in Reputation and Authority, as to

to be abandoned to the deſperate Neceſſity of founding their ill poſſeſs'd precarious Power upon the Ruins of this Country. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Next to the Conſideration of our inward domeſtick Strength, what foreign Aſſiſtances have we to juſtify this Meaſure? Are we ſure of one poſitive active Ally in the World? Nay, are not we morally certain that our neareſt moſt natural Ally diſavows this Proceeding, and refuſes to co-operate with us? One need not be deep read in Politicks to underſtand, that when one State ſeparates itſelf from another, to which it is naturally allied, it muſt be for this plain Reaſon, that the Intereſt is deſerted which is in common to them both: And it is an invariable Rule in this Country, a Rule never to be departed from, that there can no Cauſe exiſt in which we ought to engage on the Continent, without the Aid and Aſſiſtance of that neighbouring State. This is the Teſt, the certain Mark, by which I ſhall judge, that the Intereſt of this Country is not at preſent the Object in Purſuit.

'Is any Man then wild enough to imagine, that the Acceſſion of Sixteen Thouſand *Hanoverian* Mercenaries will compenſate for the Loſs of this natural Ally? No, but it is ſaid that this indicates ſuch a Firmneſs and Reſolution within ourſelves, that it will induce them to come in. Sir, if they had any real Proofs of our Firmneſs and Reſolution, that the Intereſt of this Country was to be purſued, I dare ſay they would not long heſitate. But they look with a jealous Eye upon this Meaſure, they conſider it as an Argument of your Weakneſs, becauſe it is contrary to the Genius and Spirit of this Country, and may therefore leſſen his Majeſty in the Affections of his People.

'They have for ſome Years paſt looked upon a *Britiſh* Parliament as the corrupt Engine of Adminiſtration, to exhauſt the Riches and impair the Strength of this Country. They have heard it talk loudly indeed of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, when it was in your Power to have rais'd her to that State, in which ſhe was properly to be conſidered as the Support of the Balance of *Europe*, if timid Neutralities had not intervened, and our Naval Strength had properly interpos'd to her Aſſiſtance.

'They have lately look'd upon this Parliament, and with the Joy of a natural Ally they have done it, reſenting your Injuries, bravely withſtanding the Power, that you might reſtore the Authority of your Government, demanding Conſtitutional Securities, appointing a Parliamentary Committee for Inquiry and Juſtice. Sir, they now ſee that Inquiry ſuppreſſed

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preſſed * and Juſtice diſappointed. In this Situation what Expectations can we form of their Acceſſion to us; talking bigly indeed of vindicating Foreign Rights, but ſo weak and impotent at Home, as not to be able to recover our own Privileges?

'But this Meaſure is ſaid to be undertaken in Conſequence of the Advice of Parliament. —— There has been great Streſs laid upon this ——It has been loudly proclaim'd from the Throne, echoed back again from hence, and the whole Nation is to be amuſed with an Opinion, that upon this Meaſure, the Fate of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Balance and Liberties of *Europe*, the Salvation of this Country, depend.

'But was this fatal Meaſure the Recommendation of Parliament, or was it the Offspring of ſome bold enterprizing Miniſter, hatch'd in the Interval of Parliament, under the Wings of Prerogative; daring to preſume upon the Corruption of this Houſe as the neceſſary Means of his Adminiſtration? The Object indeed might be recommended, but if any wrong Meaſure is undertaken to attain it, that Meaſure ſurely ſhould be dropt; for it is equally culpable to purſue a good End by bad Meaſures, as it is a bad End by thoſe that are honeſt.

'But as to the Addreſs, I wiſh Gentlemen would a little conſider the Occaſion which produced it. Sir, it proceeded from the Warmth of Expectation, the Exultation of our Hearts, immediately after and with the ſame Breath that you eſtabliſhed your Committee of Inquiry, and it is no forc'd Conſtruction to ſay, that it carries this Teſtimony along with it, that National Securities and granting Supplies were reciprocal Terms.

'But, Sir, I muſt own for my Part, was the Occaſion never ſo cogent, *Hanoverian* Auxiliaries are the laſt that I would vote into *Britiſh* Pay; not upon the Conſideration only, that we ought otherwiſe to expect their Aſſiſtance, and that we ſhould rather make ſure of others that might be engaged againſt us; but from this melancholy Apprehenſion, that Adminiſtrations will for ever have Sagacity enough to find out ſuch Pretences, that it may be difficult to get rid of them again.

'Beſides, the Elector of *Hanover*, as Elector of *Hanover*, is an arbitrary Prince, his Electoral Army is the Inſtrument of that Power; as King of *Great Britain*, he is a reſtrain'd Monarch: And tho' I don't ſuſpect his Majeſty, and I dare ſay the Hearts of the *Britiſh* Soldiery are as yet free and untainted, yet I fear, that too long an Intercourſe may

* See before, P. 32.

may beget a dangerous Familiarity, and they may hereafter become a joint Inſtrument, under a leſs gracious Prince, to invade our Liberties.

'His Majeſty, if he was rightly inform'd, I dare ſay, would ſoon perceive the Danger of the Propoſition which is now before you: But as he has every other Virtue, he has undoubtedly a moſt paſſionate Love for his native Country, a Paſſion, which a Man of any Senſation can hardly diveſt himſelf of; and, Sir, it is a Paſſion the more eaſily to be flatter'd becauſe it ariſes from Virtue. I wiſh that thoſe who have the Honour to be of his Councils, would imitate his Royal Example, and ſhow a Paſſion for their native Country too; that they would faithfully ſtand forth and ſay, that as King of this Country, whatever Intereſts may interfere with it, this Country is to be his firſt, his principal Care; that in the Act of Settlement this is an expreſs Condition. But what ſluggiſh Senſations, what foul Hearts muſt thoſe Men have, who inſtead of conducting his Majeſty's right Principles, addreſs themſelves to his Paſſions, and miſguide his Prejudices? making a voluntary Overture of the Rights and Privileges of their Country, to obtain Favour and ſecure themſelves in Power; miſconſtruing that as a ſecondary Conſideration, which in their own Hearts they know to be the firſt.

'Sir, we have already loſt many of thoſe Benefits and Reſtrictions, which were obtained for us by the Revolution and the Act of Settlement. For God's Sake, let us proceed no farther. But if we are thus to go on, and if, to procure the Grace and Favour of the Crown, this is to become the flattering Meaſure of every ſucceſſive Adminiſtration, —— This Country is undone!

Then Colonel *Bladen* ſtood up and ſpoke as follows: Col. Bladen.

Sir,

'If Zeal were any Security againſt Error, I ſhould not willingly oppoſe the Hon. Gentleman who has now declared his Sentiments, and declared them with ſuch Ardour as can hardly be produced but by Sincerity, and of whom therefore it cannot be doubted, that he has deliver'd his real Opinion; that he fears, from the Meaſures which he cenſures, very great Calamities, that he thinks the public Tranquility in Danger, and believes, that his Duty to his Country obliged him to ſpeak on this Occaſion with unuſual Vehemence.

'But I am too well acquainted with his Candor to imagine, that he expects his Aſſertions to be any farther regarded than they convince; or that he deſires to debar others from the ſame Freedom of Reaſon which he has himſelf uſed. I ſhall there-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

therefore proceed to examine his Opinion, and to ſhow the Reaſons by which I am induced to differ from him.

'The Arguments upon which he has chiefly inſiſted are the Danger of hiring the Troops of *Hanover* in any Circumſtances, and the Impropriety of hiring them now without the previous Approbation of the Parliament.

'The Danger of taking into our Pay the Forces of *Hanover*, the Contrariety of this Conduct to the Act of Settlement, and the Infraction of our natural Privileges, and Violation of our Liberties which is threaten'd by it, have been aſſerted in very ſtrong Terms; but I think not proved with proportionate Force; for we have heard no regular Deduction of Conſequences by which this Danger might be ſhown, nor have been informed, how the Engagement of 16,000 *Hanoverians* to ſerve us againſt *France* for the enſuing Year, can be conſidered as more deſtructive to our Liberties than of any other Forces.

'It is indeed inſinuated, that this Conduct will furniſh a dangerous Precedent of Preference granted to *Hanover* above other Nations, and that this Preference may gradually be advanced, till in time *Hanover* may by a ſervile Miniſtry be preferred to *Great Britain* itſelf, and that therefore all ſuch Partiality ought to be cruſhed in the Beginning, and its Authors purſued with Indignation and Abhorrence.

'That to prefer the Intereſt of *Hanover* to that of *Great Britain* would be in a very high Degree criminal in a *Britiſh* Miniſtry, I believe, no Man in this Houſe will go about to deny; but if no better Proof can be produced, that ſuch Preference is intended than the Contract which we are now deſired to ratify, it may be with Reaſon hop'd, that ſuch atrocious Treachery is yet at a great Diſtance; for how does the Hire of *Hanoverian* Troops ſhew any Preference of *Hanover* to *Great Britain?*

'The Troops of *Hanover* are not hired by the Miniſtry as braver or more ſkilful than thoſe of our own Country; they are not hired to command, or inſtruct, but to aſſiſt us; nor can I diſcover, ſuppoſing it poſſible to have raiſed with equal Expedition the ſame Number of Forces in our own Country, how the Miniſtry can be charged with preferring the *Hanoverians* by expoſing them to Danger and Fatigue.

'But if it be confeſſed, that ſuch Numbers would not poſſibly be raiſed, or, at leaſt, not poſſibly diſciplined with the Expedition that the Queen of *Hungary* required, it will be found, that the *Hanoverians* were at moſt not preferred to our own Nation but to other Foreigners, and for ſuch

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Preference Reaſons have been already given which I ſhall eſteem concluſive, till I hear them confuted. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The other Objection on which the Hon. Gentleman thought it proper to inſiſt, was the Neglect of demanding from the Parliament a previous Approbation of the Contract which is now before us, a Neglect, in his Opinion, ſo criminal that the Miniſtry cannot be acquitted of arbitrary Government, of ſquandering the publick Money by their own Caprice, and of aſſuming to themſelves the whole Legiſlative Power.

'But the Proof of this enormous Uſurpation has not yet been produced; for it does not yet appear, that there was Time to communicate their Deſigns to the Parliament, or that they would not have been defeated by Communication; and therefore it is yet not evident, but that when they are cenſured for not having laid their Scheme before the Parliament, they are condemned for omitting what was not poſſibly to be done, or what could not have been done, without betraying their Truſt, and injuring their Country.

'It is allowed that the Parliament had reſolved to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, and therefore nothing remained for the Miniſters but to execute with their utmoſt Addreſs the Reſolution that had been formed; if for the Proſecution of this Deſign they ſhould be found to have erred in their Choice of Means, their Miſtakes, unleſs ſome ill Deſigns may juſtly be ſuſpected, are to be imputed to the Frailty of human Nature, and rather to be pitied, and relieved as Misfortunes, than puniſhed as Crimes.

'But I doubt not, that in the Courſe of our Deliberations, we ſhall find Reaſon for concluding, that they have acted not only with Fidelity but Prudence, that they have choſen the Means by which the great End which the Parliament propoſed, the Succour of the Queen of *Hungary*, and conſequently the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Balance of Power, will be moſt eaſily attained, and that they have taken into the Pay of this Nation thoſe Troops which may be truſted with the greateſt Security, as they have the ſame Prince and the ſame Intereſt.

'But the Hon. Gentleman appears inclined to advance a new Doctrine, and to inſinuate, that when any Vote is paſſed by the Parliament, the Miniſters are to ſuppoſe ſome Conditions which are to be obſerved, though they were never mentioned, and without which the Voice of the Parliament is an empty Sound. In Purſuance of this Suppoſition, he calls upon us to recollect the Time and Circumſtances in which this Vote was paſſed; he reminds us, that the Conceſſion

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ceſſion was made in a ſudden Exultation of our Hearts, in the Raptures of Triumph, and admidſt the Shouts of Conqueſt, when every Man was forming Expectations which have never been gratified, and planning Schemes which could never be perfected.

'He ſeems therefore to think, that our Miniſters inſidiouſly took Advantage of our Intoxication, and betrayed us, in a Fit of thoughtleſs Jollity, to a Promiſe which, when made, we hardly underſtood, and which we may therefore now retract. He concludes, that the Conceſſion which might then eſcape us ought not to have been ſnatched by our Miniſters, and made the Foundation of their Conduct, becauſe they knew it was made upon falſe Suppoſitions, and in Proſpect of a Recompenſe that never would be granted.

'I hope there is no Neceſſity for declaring, that this Reaſoning cannot ſafely be admitted, ſince if the Vote of the Parliament be not a ſufficient Warrant for any Meaſure, no Man can undertake the Adminiſtration of our Affairs, and that Government which no Man will venture to ſerve muſt be quickly at an End.

'For my Part I know not how the Nation, or the Parliament, has been diſappointed of any juſt Expectations, nor can I conceive that any ſuch Diſappointments vacate their Votes or annul their Reſolutions, and therefore I cannot but think the Miniſtry ſufficiently juſtified, if they can ſhow, that they have not deviated from them.

Mr E. Waller.

Mr *Edmund Waller* then ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'Whatever Opinion we may have of what has been printed and publiſhed upon the Subject now under our Conſideration, we muſt allow, that it has been of ſome Service to us, if it were nothing elſe but that of having given Occaſion to the Hon. Gentleman, who made the Motion, to diſplay his Eloquence; for otherwiſe, it ſeems, he was not to have indulged us any ſuch Pleaſure. We ſhould have heard nothing from him, but two bare Motions for granting his Majeſty near 700,000 l. in order to enable him to maintain, with the more Eaſe, his own *Hanoverian* Troops. But tho' I was pleaſed with the Hon. Gentleman's Eloquence, I muſt confeſs, his Argument gave me ſome Pain. He ſeems to think, that our Conſtitution was quite altered by the Revolution and the Act of Settlement which was the Conſequence of it, and that we had thereby departed from our antient Maxim, *That the King can do no Wrong*. Whereas according to my Notion of both, our Conſtitution was not altered but reſtored; and conſequently

ſequently this fundamental Maxim of our Government muſt remain as firm and as inviolable, as ever it was under any former Race of *Britiſh* Kings. If this be ſo, and that it is no Man who has a Regard for our preſent Royal Family will deny, then no Breach of Condition or Limitation can impeach the King's Title, but may be a good Reaſon for impeaching and puniſhing his Miniſters and Adviſers, as well as every one who acts by their Orders againſt the Laws of their Country. Upon this Maxim the Freedom and Stability of our Government depends: Upon this alone, not only the Freedom of the Preſs, but the Freedom of Speech in Parliament, can be founded; for if the Perſon or Title of the King were to be any Way affected by the wrong Meaſures adviſed or purſued by his Miniſters, no Man could find Fault with their Meaſures, without being guilty of a Breach of his Allegiance to his Sovereign. But the Conſtitution of our Government is known to be otherwiſe; and therefore none of the Limitations which are ſuppoſed by the common Law, or expreſſed in any of our Statutes, particularly *Magna Charta*, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement, are to be look'd on as Conditions upon which the King holds his Crown, but as Directions to the Miniſters and others employed by him in the executive Part of our Government, which they are not to tranſgreſs, even tho' they ſhould have his expreſs Order for ſo doing.

'In this Light, Sir, every Man may find Fault with the Meaſures purſued by an Adminiſtration, without incroaching in the leaſt upon that Allegiance which is due to his Sovereign: Nay, if he thinks the Meaſures wicked or wrong, he is in Duty to his Sovereign, as well as his Country, obliged to find Fault with them, and to expoſe the Motives upon which they were founded, or the evil Conſequences with which they may be attended. It is by this our Conſtitution is ſecured, and the People guarded againſt being impoſed on by the falſe Gloſſes uſually put by Miniſters upon the Meaſures they have reſolved to purſue; and it is by this our Kings are ſecured againſt the fatal Effects of a general Diſcontent, by which abſolute Monarchs are often tumbled headlong from their Throne, before they can be ſenſible of the evil Tendency of the Meaſures they have been adviſed to purſue. Therefore, if it has been of late inſinuated, or if it ſhould now be inſiſted on, that the Intereſt of *Great Britain* has been, or is now to be ſacrificed to the Intereſt of *Hanover*, the Hon. Gentleman is not to impoſe Silence upon thoſe that ſay ſo, by telling them they are guilty of High-Treaſon, but by ſetting the Argument in ſuch a Light as will admit of

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no Reply, which he, with all his Eloquence, will, I fear, find to be a Task not eaſily accompliſhed. Nay, I believe, he will not attempt it; becauſe in ſo doing he would find himſelf obliged to argue againſt thoſe who for ſome Years have been his principal Friends; and who formerly ſuffered for not joining ſo cordially in the Meaſures againſt * *Sweden*, as was then expected by the Court.

'Will any Gentleman ſay, that the Intereſt of *Hanover* had no Share in the Meaſures we took, and the War we at laſt declared againſt *Sweden*, ſoon after the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty to our Throne? Every impartial Man who knows any Thing of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times muſt grant, that the Purchaſe of *Bremen* and *Verden* was the true Cauſe of the Rupture between *Sweden* and us; and the ſecuring of that Purchaſe was afterwards the Cauſe of the Rupture between us and the *Czar*. The ſame Cauſe likewiſe gave Riſe to the defenſive Alliance between the Emperor and us in the Year 1716, and was originally the Cauſe of thoſe Diſputes between *Spain* and us, which have now produced two Wars and a Half (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) between the two Kingdoms; for that in the Year 1727, I can call but Half a War, becauſe it was carried on upon one Side only. Whilſt the Imperial Court but ſeemed to favour the Pretenſions of *Hanover* in *Germany*, we did every Thing that Court could deſire; but when we found that Court a little remiſs with regard to thoſe Pretenſions, we, all of a ſudden, in the Year 1721, altered our Conduct, concluded a ſeperate Peace with *Spain* upon Terms not very honourable, and from being a generous became a jealous Friend of the Emperor's, which united us in a cloſe Correſpondence with the Court of *France*, and at laſt produced the Treaty of *Hanover*, the Conſequences whereof have been fatal to *Europe* as well as this Nation.

'Theſe Facts could, I believe, Sir, be ſufficiently proved, were we Maſters of all the ſecret Negotiations that have been carried on for thirty Years paſt; and if they are true, ſurely it is not Treaſon to ſay ſo. But ſuppoſe them all to be true, and clearly demonſtrated, no Man that underſtands our Conſtitution will ſay, they could any Way operate againſt his Majeſty, or againſt our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. Such a Proof would indeed fall heavy upon the Miniſters that adviſed or purſued ſuch Meaſures, and the very Suſpicion ought to be a prevailing Argument for our eſtabliſhing ſuch Regulations, as may prevent the Proſecution of ſuch Meaſures in any future Time.

'As

* See the Debate on this Affair, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory of the Commons, Anno 1717, p. 120

' As to the Meaſure which is the Subject of our preſent Debate, I am vaſtly ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman pretend, that it will be no Advantage to the Electorate of *Hanover*. Is not the ſending of near 700,000 l. *Engliſh* Money to that Electorate an Advantage to it? Will not the maintaining of 16,000 Men, which muſt otherwiſe have been maintained by the Electorate itſelf, be an Advantage to it? But the Hon. Gentleman ſays, the paying of thoſe Troops, can carry no Riches into the Electorate of *Hanover*, becauſe the Troops are marched out of it, and their whole Pay to be ſpent in a Foreign Country. Nay, he goes farther and ſays, that our taking thoſe Troops into our Pay, and obliging them to live in Foreign Parts, will be a Loſs to the Electorate, becauſe many of the Officers have Fortunes of their own, and will ſpend more than the Pay received from us, which Supra-expence muſt be drawn from, and conſequently will be a Loſs to that Electorate. Sir, if there are any Officers among the *Hanover* Troops who ſpend more than their Pay, there are ſome who will not ſpend ſo much, and as thoſe Savings muſt remain in, or be laid out in the Electorate, it is highly probable that what it gets by the latter, will more than attone for what it loſes by the former. But ſuppoſe it were otherwiſe, will not the Cloathing, Levying, and Recruiting theſe Troops at our Expence, be an Advantage to that Electorate? For the whole Money upon every one of theſe Articles will be laid out or laid up in *Hanover*; and the Advantage it muſt reap this Way, will, I am ſure, do a great deal more than compenſate any Loſs it may ſuſtain by the Extravagance of ſome of its Officers. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

' We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, that tho' this Body of *Hanoverian* Troops be to ſerve in a Foreign Country, yet a great Part of what we pay for them, or to them, will be laid out in *Hanover*, and conſequently that this Meaſure will tend to the Enriching of that Electorate. But now ſuppoſe, that not one Shilling of this Money were to remain in, or ever to return to *Hanover*, would it not be an Advantage to have 16,000 of its Troops maintained at our Charge? For no Augmentation has been made upon this Account to the Army in *Hanover*. The Hon. Gentleman ſeems to lay it down as a Maxim, that it can never be an Advantage to any Nation, to ſend 16,000 of its Subjects out of the Country: If he had added the Word, *idle*, his Maxim would then have ſtood in its proper Light; and, I believe, no Man will ſay, that it would not be an Advantage to a Nation to have 16,000 of its *idle* Subjects maintained, either at home or abroad, at the Expence of ſome neighbouring Nation. I ſhould have been

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

very far from finding fault with our ſending 16,000 of our Soldiers to *Flanders*, if they had been to be maintained by the Queen of *Hungary*, the *Dutch*, or any other neighbouring Nation, that would not afterwards have made uſe of them againſt ourſelves. Therefore, the ſending of our Troops to *Flanders*, as it is at our own Expence, muſt be a Loſs to us, but *Hanover*'s ſending 16,000 of its Troops to *Flanders* muſt be an Advantage to it, becauſe they are to be maintained there, at our Expence.

'I ſhall grant, indeed, Sir, that if the *Hanover* Troops were to have been kept in *Hanover*, and there maintain'd at our Expence, it would have been a greater Advantage to that Electorate; and therefore our keeping, and always maintaining ſuch a Body of Troops in the Electorate of *Hanover*, may perhaps be deſign'd to be introduced by this Precedent. Our Parliaments may not be as yet well enough diſciplined, for approving of ſuch a Meaſure; but we do not know what may be brought about, by Time and bad Precedents. We lately maintained, for ſeveral Years, 12,000 * *Heſſians* for the Defence of *Hanover*; and now we have got into the Method of taking *Hanoverians* into our Pay, I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould not always be, from the ſame Motives, induced to keep a Body of Troops in that Electorate for the ſame Purpoſe. To a Parliament willing to be convinced, I could ſuggeſt a great many plauſible Reaſons for our agreeing to ſuch a Meaſure; and ſuch Reaſons as, I am ſure, would in all future Reigns make me a Favourite at Court; for I never yet read of a Prince that was willing to give up the ſmalleſt Territory that belonged to him. I could ſhew, and I think, with ſome Reaſon too, that as the Elector of *Hanover* is King of *Great Britain*, it would be inconſiſtent with our Honour to allow it to be taken from him: That it is almoſt ſurrounded with Princes who keep great Armies on foot: That without keeping always a very numerous ſtanding Army in that Electorate, it is liable to be ſuddenly invaded and ſwallowed up by ſome of its neighbouring Princes: That the Electorate is not of itſelf able to keep ſuch an Army on foot as may be neceſſary for guarding againſt this Danger; and that therefore we, for the Preſervation of our own Honour, ought always to maintain a great Army in that Electorate. I could farther urge, that this Army would give great Weight to our Negotiations at all the Courts upon the Continent: That it would tend to encourage our Friends and

* See the Debate upon that Meaſure, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory, Vol. VII.

and terrify our Enemies, fully as much as an Army ſent to or kept in *Flanders*; and that it would be always ready and more at our Command than the Troops of any Ally, in order to be brought over, to prevent or repel any Invaſion or Inſurrection, eſpecially as our King has now the Poſſeſſion of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which ſhews the Conſequence that Purchaſe may be of to the Quiet of *Great Britain*, and the Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Theſe, and a great many other ſuch Arguments, I could make uſe of, for our maintaining a great Body of Troops in *Hanover*: I am far from ſaying they would appear concluſive to any Man of an honeſt Heart and a clear Underſtanding; but, I am ſure, they would be as concluſive as thoſe Arguments were, that were made uſe of for our taking or keeping the *Heſſian* Troops in our Pay, in conſequence of the Treaty of *Hanover*; therefore it may be ſuppoſed, that ſome future Parliament may agree to ſuch a Meaſure. What we are now about will be a Precedent for it; and if ever we have ſuch a Parliament, I am convinced, our Miniſters, who generally think of nothing ſo much as of acquiring an Intereſt in the Cloſet, will not be backward in propoſing it. Nay, I do not know but that in the very next Seſſion we may hear ſome ſuch Propoſition made: Before our next Meeting I may propheſy, that a Suſpenſion of Arms will be agreed on, and a Congreſs appointed: It will then be urged, that we ought not to diſband any of our own Troops, or diſmiſs any of the Foreign Troops we have in our Pay, till Peace be fully reſtored; and if we do keep them in Pay, it will, even with Reaſon, I think, be ſaid, that *Hanover* is as proper a Place for keeping them in as any other Part of *Europe*.

'Thus, I hope, Sir, I have ſhewn, that the Meaſure now under our Conſideration, muſt immediately contribute to the enriching of *Hanover* at the Expence of this Kingdom, and may probably, in its Conſequences, contribute a great deal more.

'The next Thing I am to inquire into is, how, or what way, or if at all, this Meaſure can be ſuppoſed to contribute to the Honour, Advantage, or Security of this Kingdom. As to Honour, I hope, we are not become ſuch *Don Quixots* as to expoſe ourſelves to an infinite Expence and infinite Danger merely for aſſiſting a fine Lady in Diſtreſs. Such a Behaviour might be great and heroick in a private Man, but can be neither in a Miniſter, becauſe he neither expoſes his Perſon nor his Eſtate in the Adventure. As to Advantage, I cannot ſay what the Electorate of *Hanover* may have in its View, over and above the Advantages I have already ex-

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

plain'd, but I am ſure, this Kingdom cannot ſo much as aim at any Advantage by aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*. Our future Security muſt therefore be the only Thing we can have in View, and if this Meaſure ſhould appear to have a Tendency towards making our future Security more precarious, ſurely it is mad in us to put ourſelves to any ſuch Expence.

'For making this appear, Sir, I muſt examine what is meant by the Balance of Power, how it ſtood by the former Syſtems of Affairs in *Europe*, and how it muſt ſtand, if it can ſtand at all, by any future Syſtem. From the Acceſſion of *Charles* the Fifth, to the *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* Thrones, the Balance of Power leaned towards the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and therefore it was the Buſineſs of this Nation to ſide now and then with *France*, in order to pull down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or at leaſt to prevent its growing to any greater Height. In *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, and his two next Succeſſors, our true Intereſt was neglected and ſometimes ſacrificed; but Queen *Elizabeth* wiſely and ſteadily purſued it, and thereby eſtabliſhed the Balance of Power; and what is moſt ſurpriſing, without putting the Nation to any great Expence, or involving it in any Debt. By the Emperor's being often involved in Wars either with the *Turks* or the Princes of *Germany*, and by the Stupidity of the *Spaniſh* Court, the *French* at laſt, in our *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, and during the Uſurpation of *Cromwell*, began to get the Aſcendant, and from that Time ſo increaſed in Power, that before the Revolution it was become formidable to *Europe*, and therefore it was our Buſineſs to join with the Houſe of *Auſtria* in pulling down the Power of *France*, or in raiſing the Power of that Houſe, ſo as to make it near an equal Match for *France*. This we did, and did it effectually, tho' we muſt ſay at a monſtrous Expence, from the Revolution 'till the Year 1721, when the Balance was ſo equal, that but a ſmall Aſſiſtance from the Maritime Powers might have turned it to which Side they pleaſed.

'But how, Sir, was this Equality eſtabliſhed? Wherein did it conſiſt? Not ſingly in the Dominions poſſeſſed by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but jointly in that Houſe's being poſſeſſed of thoſe Dominions, and at the ſame Time in Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Throne, with a prevailing Influence upon the Diet of the Empire, by which ſhe was almoſt ſure of engaging the Empire in her Quarrel. This, Sir, was the Syſtem upon which the Balance of Power ſtood in the Year 1721; and if we had not then begun to ſhake it as well as deſert it, it might have ſtood firm upon this Baſis to this very Day. The Electoral Princes of *Germany* were, 'tis true, jealous of the Power

Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but if we had ſtood firm, no one or more of them would have ventured to have joined with *France* againſt that Houſe; becauſe as long as ſhe made no open Attack upon the Liberties of the Empire, nor upon the Properties of any of the Princes thereof, ſhe would always have had a Majority of the Diet in her Favour. But our Coolneſs towards that Houſe, and our deſerting her in the Year 1733, gave the firſt Blow to her Power, and has now at laſt overturn'd that Syſtem, upon which the Balance of *Europe* was eſtabliſhed, at the Expence of Hundreds of Millions, and many Thouſand Lives, to this unfortunate and infatuated Nation. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Is it now, Sir, in our Power to reſtore the ſame Syſtem? Is it in our Power to reſtore the Houſe of *Auſtria* to her loſt Dominions? Is it in our Power to reſtore her to the Imperial Throne, or to that Influence ſhe formerly had upon the Diet of the Empire? Sir, if it were in our *Power*, I do not believe it is in the *Will* of our Miniſters to do ſo. To humour an infatuated and ill judging People, and to accompliſh ſome of their own private Ends, they may pretend to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*; but if they could, I do not believe they would reſtore the Power of that Houſe, ſo as to make it near equal to what it was, or in any Degree a Match for the Kingdom of *France*. If they had any ſuch View, I am ſure it would be chimerical, becauſe none will aſſiſt us, moſt of the Princes of *Germany* would unite againſt us; nay, I do not know, if the Foreign Troops we have now in our Pay, or the *Hanoverians* we are to take into our Pay, would aſſiſt in carrying on any ſuch Scheme; for ſurely thoſe Troops would not aſſiſt in dethroning an Emperor choſen and acknowledged by their own Maſter.

'From hence, Sir, it is evident, that the Balance of Power cannot be eſtabliſhed upon its antient Baſis; and therefore the Preſerving or Diminiſhing the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* can be of no great Concern to this Nation, nor could be of any, ever ſince the Elector of *Bavaria*'s being choſen Emperor. The only Baſis upon which the Balance of Power can now be eſtabliſhed, is to reſtore a firm Union and good Correſpondence among the ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, and to detach every one of them, as much as poſſible, from any ſlaviſh Dependence upon *France*. If this had been our Scheme, and it is the only wiſe Scheme we could propoſe, after the Emperor was choſen, inſtead of ſending Troops, we ought to have ſent Miniſters (not ſuch as we have of late Years ſent abroad) into *Germany*; in order to have had an End put as ſpeedily as poſſible to the War in that Country. In this

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Scheme, I believe, both the *Dutch*, the King of *Pruſſia* and the ſeveral Circles of the Empire, would have joined with us more heartily than they will do in any other, becauſe it is their, as well as our Intereſt, to have an End put to that War; whereas it is the Intereſt of *France*, to have the War continued as long as poſſible; becauſe the longer it is continued, the more the Princes engaged will weaken one another, the more difficult it will be to reſtore a good Harmony between them, and conſequently the more difficult it will be to reſtore Activity or Force to the *Germanick* Body. That theſe are the Politicks of *France*, we may ſee by her whole Conduct in the preſent War, by her ſending at firſt no very great Force to the Aſſiſtance of the Elector of *Bavaria*, by her leaving the King of *Pruſſia* to fight his own Battles, and by her now having in *Bavaria* only ſuch an Army as may enable the Emperor to continue the War.

'If Peace had been reſtored to *Germany* ſoon after the Emperor's being choſen, he would never have been under any ſlaviſh Dependence upon *France*, much leſs would he have contibuted to any Increaſe of Power in ſuch a dangerous Rival: He ſoon became ſenſible of his being made a Tool by *France*, for diſuniting and weakening the *Germanick* Body: If he had been eſtabliſhed in his Throne by our Mediation, he might probably, in a ſhort Time, have been become as great an Enemy to *France* as ever the Houſe of *Auſtria* was; and if we had applyed our whole Strength to a vigorous Proſecution of the War with *Spain* and towards defeating her Schemes in *Italy*, we might by this Time have forced her to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms. But ſuppoſe we had not: Suppoſe the War had continued between *Spain* and us, and that *France* had joined with *Spain* againſt us, both together could not fit out a Naval Force equal to ours, ſo that we might have carried on the War with Succeſs againſt both, and to the utter Deſtruction both of the Trade and Plantations of *France*; for without a ſuperior Fleet ſhe could have defended neither. If the Peace of *Germany* had been reſtored, and the Emperor eſtabliſhed upon the Imperial Throne by our Mediation, *France* would have had no great Influence upon him, and much leſs upon the *Germanick* Body; and conſequently neither could nor durſt have pretended to give Laws to the reſt of *Europe*; becauſe it would probably have drawn that great Body unanimouſly into a Confederacy againſt her; but if that Body ſhould be ruined by a tedious and conſumptive War, ſupported at the ſole Charge of this Nation, we ſhall not only exhauſt ourſelves, ſo as not to be able to maintain our Naval Force, but

but weaken the *Germanick* Body, and attach the Emperor more ſtrongly to *France*; and if the Queen of *Hungary* ſhould at laſt be obliged to ſubmit, thus exhauſted and diſtreſſed, we ſhall be left expoſed to the Vengeance of *France* and *Spain*, ſupported by an inraged and dependent Emperor of *Germany*. In this Caſe, indeed, it would be in the Power of *France* to give Laws to the reſt of *Europe*, and to oblige all the Powers thereof to interdict us their Ports, if not join with her and *Spain* againſt us.

'From all which I muſt conclude, Sir, that if our Miniſters mean any Thing by ſending our Troops to *Flanders*, and taking ſuch a numerous Body of *Hanoverians* into our Pay: I ſay, if they mean any Thing, beſides that of impoſing upon the Nation, and making a Preſent to his Majeſty of 6 or 700,000 l. their Meaſures will render our future Security more precarious than it would, or could have been, had they put the Nation to no ſuch Expence, nor engaged it in any ſuch romantick Meaſures; becauſe, by continuing the War we weaken, perhaps may deſtroy that Baſis upon which alone the Balance can now be eſtabliſhed, and which can no Way ſuffer by taking from one and giving to another of the *German* Princes, as long as *France* gets no Part of the Spoil, nor *Spain* any Succeſs without firſt coming to an Accommodation with this Nation; for as to any Acceſſion of Power *Spain*, or the Princes of *Spain*, may acquire in *Italy*, it ſignifies nothing to the general Balance, becauſe the Connection now ſubſiſting between *France* and *Spain*, can laſt no longer than the preſent King of *Spain*'s Life, which cannot be of any long Duration; and upon his Death the antient Jealouſy, between thoſe two Kingdoms, will very probably revive, which would of courſe throw the Power and Influence of *Spain* into the Balance againſt the overgrown Power of *France*, and would be a new and a very great additional Security for preſerving the Liberties of *Europe*.

'I know, Sir, I am arguing againſt the general Cry of the ignorant and unthinking Part of this Nation; but, I hope, our Miniſters are not to be reckoned amongſt that Set of Men. I ſhall grant that the Baſis upon which the Balance of Power ſtood eſtabliſhed in the Year 1721, was more firm and certain than that I am now recommending. Whilſt it remained fixt upon that Baſis, we could with more Certainty depend upon the *Germanick* Body's acting with Vigour and Unanimity againſt *France*, than we can do, when the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* is divided, and the Head of the Empire without any great Influence upon the Body: and therefore we have the more Reaſon to reſent the fatal Change

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Change that has been brought about, chiefly by the weak or wicked Meaſures of our Miniſters here at home. To preſerve or increaſe the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* has been the Cry our People have been uſed to for threeſcore Years paſt: Whilſt that Power could be ſet up as a Match for the Power of *France*, it was a right Maxim: If it were now poſſible to do ſo, it would ſtill be a right Maxim; and therefore I am not at all ſurpriſed, that this ſhould ſtill continue to be the Cry amongſt thoſe who do not conſider or perceive the Impoſſibility of the Thing: But every Man who conſiders the preſent State of *Europe*, muſt be ſenſible of its being now impoſſible to reſtore the Power and Influence of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſo as to ſet it up as a Match for the Power of *France*; becauſe all the Princes of *Germany* would declare openly againſt it: Even the Elector of *Hanover* might, perhaps, as Elector, declare openly againſt it; and if he ſhould declare againſt it, I believe, the Miniſters of the King of *Great Britain* neither would nor could act vigorouſly in the Proſecution of ſuch a Scheme.

'I muſt therefore neceſſarily conclude, that this cannot be the Scheme upon which our Troops were ſent abroad, or the *Hanoverians* taken into our Pay; and as I can think of none other, I muſt ſuppoſe, that our Troops were ſent abroad in order to amuſe the Queen of *Hungary*, and perſuade her to reject the Propoſitions of Peace made to her laſt Summer, which were as good, I believe, as any we can procure for her, in order that our Miniſters might, from the Continuance of the War in *Germany*, have a Pretence, or ſome Shadow of an Argument for perſuading this Nation to take 16,000 *Hanoverians* into its Pay. The Hon. Gentleman ſays, we were obliged to ſend our Troops abroad, in order to convince our Allies of our being reſolved to act with Vigour, and to remove that Opinion which our former Conduct had inſtilled into them. Sir, if our new Miniſters had ſincerely and heartily join'd in puniſhing thoſe who had brought ſuch a Reproach upon their Country, and in getting ſuch Laws paſſed as the People think neceſſary for ſecuring their Liberties at home, it would have been a much more effectual, and a much cheaper Method of removing that Opinion which our late Conduct has inſtilled into the Minds of foreign Courts; for they all know, from Experience, that this Nation both will and can act with Vigour, when it happens to be under a popular Adminiſtration; but that our Government is of ſuch a Nature, that it never did, nor ever can act with Vigour, when it is adminiſtred by Men who have rendered themſelves hated or deſpiſed by the People

People. This we may be convinced of by the vigorous Reſolution taken by the *Dutch*, as ſoon as they heard of a Change in our Adminiſtration; and the Slackneſs that enſued in their Counſels, as ſoon as they found that that Change was not like to be agreeable to the People.

'It is this, Sir, that has confounded the Counſels of all thoſe who ought to be our Allies. It is the Unpopularity of our Government, and the Diſcontents ſtill reigning among the People of this Nation, that has convinced all the Courts of *Europe*, that there is no Dependence to be had upon, nor much to be apprehended from any Thing we can do; and this, perhaps, has defeated the beſt Scheme I ever heard mentioned for reſtoring the Balance of Power, and ſettling it upon the moſt ſolid and laſting Foundation. I mean that of drawing off the Emperor, as well as the King of *Pruſſia*, from their Alliance with *France*, and getting the whole *Germanick* Body to unite with the *Dutch* and us in a Confederacy for aggrandizing the Houſe of *Bavaria* at the Expence of *France*. If this could have been done, it would have been a pulling down the Power of *France*, which is what we ought principally to aim at, and adding to the Power of the *Germanick* Body, ſo that both Ways it would have operated for ſecuring the Liberties of *Europe*; but for this Purpoſe all the Parties concerned muſt have acted with the utmoſt Vigour, which was not to be expected from this Nation, whilſt the Diſcontents of the People are not only general, but too ready, I am afraid, to break out into a Flame. From hence, I am convinced, that our Miniſters had not the leaſt View of procuring ſuch a Confederacy, when our Troops were firſt ſent into *Flanders*, and much leſs can they have any ſuch View at preſent. Nay, I believe, the *Dutch* have expreſsly declared againſt attacking *France*, and whatever may be pretended, however far the Pretence may be puſhed, I believe, none of our Troops, at leaſt none of our Auxiliaries, will actually attack the Emperor; therefore I muſt ſuppoſe, and next Summer may probably juſtify my Suppoſition, that after having made a Parade, and ſtript this poor Nation of four or five Millions, we ſhall end where we ought to have begun, in negotiating a Peace between the Emperor and the Queen of *Hungary*, and ſuch a Peace too, as was offered to her laſt Summer, and would probably have been accepted by her, if we had no way interpoſed.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, I hope, it will not be ſaid, I am oppoſing the Meaſures of our Miniſters, when I declare againſt our entering into the War in *Germany* upon the preſent Footing. Tho' I argue againſt their pretended, I am convinced,

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I do not argue againſt their real Sentiments. Whatever Opinion I may have of their Integrity, I have a better Opinion of their Underſtanding than to ſuppoſe, that they would undertake ſuch a romantick Scheme, as that of reſtoring the Houſe of *Auſtria* to its former Power and Influence; and therefore, I hope the Hon. Gentleman will not ſay, that I alter my Sentiments merely becauſe our Miniſters have altered their Meaſures. I never was for War or Peace, merely becauſe I ſaw the Miniſters reſolved to purſue the contrary Meaſure, nor is this, I hope, ever a Motive with any Gentleman of this Houſe; but I pardon the Hon. Gentleman for ſuppoſing that it is, becauſe it is very natural for Gentlemen (who have laid it down as a Maxim, to be for every Meaſure they find the Miniſters reſolved to purſue,) to ſuppoſe, that others oppoſe the Miniſters Meaſures merely for the Sake of Oppoſition. Has any Gentleman, who declared for a War with *Spain*, as yet altered his Sentiments? Are not we ſtill for a vigorous Proſecution of that War? But this too may, perhaps, be ſaid to proceed from a Spirit of Oppoſition; for it cannot be ſaid, that our Miniſters have ever yet proſecuted that War with Vigour, and of late they really ſeem to have quite forgot it.

'Has any Gentleman ever ſaid, that we were by ourſelves alone to undertake the Cauſe of the Queen of *Hungary*; and that without the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, or even of the Elector of *Hanover*, we are to reſtore her to the Poſſeſſion of all her former Dominions, to dethrone the Emperor, and to place the Duke of *Lorrain* in his ſtead, not only in ſpight of *France* and *Spain*, but in ſpight of the Empire itſelf? This, Sir, is the Fallacy of the Hon. Gentleman's Argument, when he tells us, we ſhall be guilty of Unſteadineſs in our Opinions and Behaviour, if we do not come into ſuch a Scheme. All that has been ſaid, in Parliament, all the Declarations or Addreſſes of Parliament, for aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, have been upon this Condition, that the other Powers, who are engaged by Treaties, and bound by Intereſt to ſupport her, ſhould join with us in aſſiſting her. This Condition the Hon. Gentleman has, it ſeems, forgot, I ſhall not ſay wilfully, and now he charges us with having been formerly of Opinion, that without her being aſſiſted by any, but ourſelves, there were reaſonable Grounds to hope, that the Balance of Power might be again reſtored, and the Tranquility of *Europe* re-eſtabliſhed. Is not this, Sir, a downright Miſrepreſentation of the Fact? And ſince we now find, that none of the Powers of *Europe* will join with us in aſſiſting her, that even the Electorate of *Hanover* will not

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ſend her the 4000 Men ſtipulated by the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, is it not a good Reaſon for our refuſing to concur in a Scheme, which it is impoſſible to execute, and which, by our joining in it, may render the Emperor more dependent upon *France* than he otherwiſe would be, and conſequently deſtroy, or very much weaken that Baſis, upon which alone the Balance of Power can now be eſtabliſhed ? An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

' The very Reaſon given for our taking the *Hanover* Troops into our Pay, is a Proof of its being ridiculous in us to think of re-eſtabliſhing the Balance of Power upon its former Foundation, and was certainly the ſtrongeſt Argument that could be urged againſt this Meaſure The Hon. Gentleman was ſo free as to tell us, that we took the *Hanoverians* into our Pay, becauſe we could not get any other. If this be true, I am ſure, we ought not to have taken them, becauſe it was from thence apparent, we could make no uſe of them ; and if we could at that Time have got any other, we ought to have taken any rather than thoſe of *Hanover* ; becauſe by that means we might have engaged the Prince whoſe Troops we hired, to join with us in eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Queen of *Hungary* ; and we might certainly have got the Troops of any other Potentate in *Europe*, at a cheaper Rate than we are now to pay for thoſe of *Hanover* ; for I could ſhew, that we never paid ſo dear for any Troops taken into our Service, as we are to pay for theſe *Hanoverians*. But as I think, and I hope have demonſtrated, that we ought not to take thoſe Troops into our Pay at any Rate, I have therefore no Occaſion to point out the ſeveral extraordinary Articles that are in the Eſtimates now lying upon our Table. And as to their being already marched into *Flanders*, I do not think, we can be ſuppoſed to be thereby laid under any Obligation, either to make good the Charge of marching them thither, or to pay for marching them back ; becauſe it is evident, from our Addreſs of laſt Seſſion, that we neither deſired nor deſigned that his Majeſty ſhould put the Nation to any Charge in ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, unleſs he was to be joined by the other Powers equally concerned with us, and ſome practicable Scheme formed for giving her ſuch a Support as might reſtore the Balance of Power and eſtabliſh it upon a ſolid Foundation. Therefore, as it is not ſo much as pretended, that we ever had, or have now the leaſt Hopes of ſuch a Conjunction, if we do not comply with this Demand, his Majeſty cannot blame his Parliament : He can blame only thoſe Miniſters that were ſo raſh as to adviſe the marching of thoſe Troops ; and, I am ſure, our Conſtituents would have great Reaſon

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An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. to blame us, if we ſhould laviſh away their Money, for no other Reaſon but to prevent his Majeſty's having Cauſe to blame his Miniſters.

Mr *H. Walpole*, ſpoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

Mr H. Walpole

'I Confeſs, I ſhould have been no way ſurpriſed, had the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion, ſaved himſelf the Trouble of explaining his Reaſon for making it, or for our agreeing to it; for they are ſo clearly deducible from Facts ſo publickly known, that when I firſt heard of the March of the *Hanover* Troops, and of their being taken into the Pay of *Great Britain*, I was ſo far from thinking the Meaſure would be oppoſed, that I imagined it would be highly applauded and readily provided for. I even then began to think, that after we had agreed to the proper Reſolutions for granting the Supplies neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of thoſe Troops, I ſhould have the Pleaſure to ſee this Houſe unanimouſly reſolving upon an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty, for ſhewing ſuch a Mark of his Affection for theſe Kingdoms, as to lend us a large Body of his Troops, when he thereby expoſed his own native Dominions to the Danger of being involved in the War, and to the higheſt Reſentment not only of *France*, but of the Prince then choſen Emperor of *Germany*, and Head of the Empire.

'Sir, If we but conſider the Turn which the Affairs of *Europe* took upon the Death of the late Emperor, there can be no Occaſion to perſuade us to agree to this Motion; and the leaſt Reflection muſt convince us, that that Turn was not owing to any Miſconduct in our Miniſters, but merely to the unforeſeen Accident of the late Emperor's dying, before any proper Meaſures had been taken for giving him a Succeſſor in the Imperial Throne: I ſay unforeſeen Accident; becauſe the late Emperor was of a healthful robuſt Body, and not very far advanced in Years, no one could foreſee, no one could reaſonably ſuppoſe, that his Death was ſo near approaching. By this Event's happening at ſuch an unſeaſonable Time for the reſt of *Europe*, the *French* were encouraged to form a Scheme, not only for giving an Emperor to *Germany*, but for reducing ſtill further the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, their antient Rival, by parcelling out a great Part of her Dominions, amongſt thoſe Princes of *Europe* who ſhould appear moſt attached to the Intereſt of *France*; and in both Parts of this Scheme ſhe found but too certain Hopes of Succeſs, from the ill tim'd Ambition of ſome of the Princes of *Europe*, and a Sort of panick Fear in moſt of the reſt.

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'In theſe Circumſtances, Sir, what was his Majeſty to do? What was this Nation to do? If his Majeſty had been guided by his Ambition as others were, and had ſhewn no Regard to any Thing but the Extenſion of his *German* Dominions, he might certainly have purchaſed ſome Addition, by joining with the Meaſures of *France*, for as he was King of *Great Britain*, as well as Elector of *Hanover*, they would certainly have thought it well worth their while, to have purchaſed his Friendſhip, and hearty Concurrence almoſt at any Rate. On the other Hand, if he had been aw'd by Fear, as ſome others ſeem to have been, he would have remained quite inactive, without putting himſelf or this Nation to any Expence, which would have deprived ſome Gentlemen, both within Doors and without, of the Pleaſure they ſeem to take in oppoſing what is now under our Conſideration. But his Majeſty was too wiſe to be guided by either of theſe Motives: He reſolved to oppoſe the Meaſures of *France* as much, and as ſoon as it was in his Power; for which purpoſe he immediately ordered an Augmentation of his Armies in *Hanover*, as well as in *Great Britain*, to be ready to act as ſoon as a fit Opportunity ſhould offer. But as *France* had been enabled, by the Ambition of ſome Powers in *Europe*, to form a moſt powerful Alliance; as Fear in others made it at firſt impoſſible for his Majeſty to form a ſufficient Counter-Alliance; and as his own Dominions were in Danger of being immediately attack'd, he was obliged to conclude a Treaty of Neutrality; which Neutrality, however, he wiſely confined to his *German* Dominions, and to the Space of one Twelvemonth from the Date. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'As to that Part of the *French* Scheme relating to the Election of an Emperor, his Majeſty found it impoſſible to oppoſe it, becauſe a great Majority of the Electors had poſitively reſolved to concur in the Choice of the Elector of *Bavaria*, which Reſolution they had taken, not out of Love to the *French*, or from any Fear of their Arms, but for two other Reaſons that were both very prevalent. Firſt, to preſerve their Right of Election, and prevent the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s acquiring any Pretence from Preſcription to ſay, that the Imperial Diadem ought always to be continued in that Houſe; and ſecondly, becauſe there was no Male Repreſentative of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and it was not proper to chuſe the Duke of *Lorrain*, leſt by the Queen of *Hungary*'s dying without Children, the Empire ſhould come to have a Head who had not Dominions ſufficient for ſupporting the Luſtre and Dignity of the Imperial Diadem. Theſe

Reaſons

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. Reaſons prevailed with a great Majority of the Electors to fix upon the Elector of *Bavaria*, and his Majeſty finding it needleſs to oppoſe, concurred in the Election.

'To theſe Reaſons, I may add, Sir, that moſt of the Princes of the Empire had found the Inconvenience of continuing the Imperial Dignity ſo long in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and had by Turns felt the Weight of the Power that Houſe had thereby acquired, which was certainly grown ſo great as to be a little inconſiſtent with the Liberties of *Germany*, however much it might tend to the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*. This was a third Reaſon for uniting the Electors in the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, with regard to the Election; and was, perhaps, a Reaſon that prevailed with many of them to fall in with the Views of *France*, even with regard to the leſſening the Power of that Houſe; eſpecially as *France* has all along taken care to perſuade the World, that ſhe had no Deſign to add any Thing to her own Power or Dominions.

'If his Majeſty had ſhewn a Regard only to the Intereſt of his *German* Dominions: If he had been governed by the Maxim that has long prevailed in *Germany*, of pulling down the overgrown Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; he would certainly have joined in the Scheme for dividing the Dominions of that Houſe, and might, perhaps, have come in for a Share, or, at leaſt, ſome Equivalent; but his Majeſty, in this, as well as all his former Meaſures, has been intirely governed by the ſole Intereſt of *England*. He conſidered that, as the Houſe of *Auſtria* is the preſent and rightful Poſſeſſor of thoſe Territories which are now called the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, we might always depend upon that Houſe as our faithfull Ally, for that Reaſon, which chiefly prevails among Princes, becauſe it is her Intereſt to be ſo. If ever *France* attempts to extend her Dominions, that Attempt will certainly fall firſt upon the *Auſtrian Netherlands*; but as ſhe cannot propoſe to ſucceed in any ſuch Attempt, till ſhe has firſt brought this Nation ſo low as not to be able to prevent it, or eſtabliſhed a Government here that will not endeavour to prevent it, therefore her firſt Attempt will undoubtedly be againſt us, or, at leaſt, againſt our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; but as the Conqueſt of the *Auſtrian Netherlands* will be the certain and immediate Conſequence of *France*'s ſucceeding in any ſuch Attempt againſt us, therefore we may depend upon the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if ever *France* ſhould make any Attempt againſt us.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, even ſuppoſing that the Balance of Power muſt now depend upon the Harmony and Unanimity

of

of the *Germanick* Body, which, in my Opinion, it always did in Time paſt, as well as it muſt do in Time to come, yet it is the Intereſt of this Nation to preſerve the Dominions and Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* as entire as poſſible. This made his Majeſty reſolve to defeat the ſecond Part of the *French* Scheme; but as this was not to be done without drawing off ſome of thoſe Princes that were at firſt engaged in the *French* Alliance, and as he found it impoſſible to do this without giving up ſome Part of the *Auſtrian* Dominions, therefore his firſt Attempt was, to prevail upon the Court of *Vienna* to give Satisfaction to the King of *Pruſſia*, and upon that Prince to accept of what the Court of *Vienna* was willing to give. In this his Majeſty has ſucceeded better, or at leaſt ſooner, than could be expected; and the Conſequence of this has been, a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Saxony* and *Vienna*, with little or no Loſs to the latter. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'His Majeſty's next Care was, to provide for the Safety of the *Auſtrian* Dominions in *Italy*, and to defeat the Deſigns of our declared Enemies the *Spaniards*. For this Purpoſe it was neceſſary to prevail with the Court of *Vienna* to make ſome Ceſſion to the King of *Sardinia*, who may be ſaid to keep the Keys of *Italy*, and to prevail with that Prince to declare openly againſt the *Spaniards*. In this too his Majeſty has ſucceeded beyond any Hopes which the moſt ſanguine could entertain a Twelvemonth ago; and in order to weaken and diſtreſs the *Spaniards* ſtill more in *Italy*, he has, by his ſuperior Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, not only lock'd up their Fleets in Port, but compelled the King of the two *Sicilies* to declare for a Neutrality.

'Theſe Things were all done, Sir, or reſolved on, before our Troops were ſent to *Flanders*, or the Auxiliary Troops, either of *Hanover* or *Heſſe Caſſel*, were ordered to march; but two Things ſtill remained to be done, and that was, to ſecure the King of *Sardinia* from being attacked by the *French*, in Conjunction with the *Spaniards*, and to draw the *Dutch* out of that Inactivity, which Deſpair of being able to oppoſe the Views of *France*, had frightned them into. For both theſe Purpoſes it became neceſſary to form a numerous Army in *Flanders*, and therefore his Majeſty, early laſt Summer, ordered a large Body of his *Britiſh* Troops to be tranſported to that Country; but as it was not poſſible for us to ſpare ſuch a Body of our own Troops, as was neceſſary to form ſuch an Army as might give Apprehenſions to the

* See the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Anno 1742, P. 215.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

French, or Courage to the *Dutch*, his Majeſty was obliged, not only to order the *Heſſians* in our Pay to march, but to take another large Body of Foreign Troops into our Pay, and as his own *Hanoverian* Troops were not only the readieſt at Command, but the neareſt to the Place of Rendezvous, 16000 of them were accordingly ordered to march to join our Army in *Flanders*.

'This, Sir, has already had a very great and good Effect. The *French* not knowing what we might undertake, and being jealous of the *Dutch*, were obliged to march ſuch a Body of their Troops towards *Flanders*, that they could ſpare not ſo much as a Regiment to join with the *Spaniards* in oppreſſing the King of *Sardinia*, and compelling him to deſert the Engagements he had entered into with his Majeſty and the Queen of *Hungary*; and the Dutch being by this Army ſecured againſt any ſudden Attack from the *French*, have begun to entertain Thoughts of joining with us in aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, which, I am perſuaded, they will reſolve on as ſoon as the Forms of their Government will permit; becauſe when they judge impartially, and without being influenced by any Apprehenſions of being immediately ſwallowed up by *France*, they muſt conclude, that it is their Intereſt as well as ours, and upon the ſame Account too, to preſerve, as entire as poſſible, the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

'Thus, Sir, in one Twelvemonth's Time, the Queen of *Hungary*, by the Aſſiſtance we have given her in Money, by our Mediation with the Courts of *Berlin*, *Dreſden*, and *Turin*, by the Influence of our Army in *Flanders*, and Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and by the Fidelity and Bravery of her own Subjects, has been raiſed from the moſt forlorn, the moſt deſperate Condition that ever any Princeſs, not abſolutely conquered, was in, to a State of triumphing over her preſent and moſt inveterate Enemies in every Part of *Germany*, and of rejecting with Scorn thoſe Terms of Peace, which her Enemies would, with Deriſion, have heard propoſed by her but a Twelvemonth ago.

'From this Change in the Face of Affairs, Sir, we have good Reaſon to hope, not only that the Tranquility of *Europe* may be ſpeedily reſtored, and the Balance of Power reeſtabliſhed, but alſo that we may be able, very ſoon, to force *Spain* to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms of Peace with this Nation. Whereas, if we had ſate ſtill, and allowed *France* to parcel out the *Auſtrian* Dominions as ſhe pleaſed, what fatal Conſequences might we not have expected? As *France* would then have had no Occaſion for keeping up a very great

Land

Land Army, ſhe would have diſbanded a great Part of it, and applied all that Saving towards repairing and augmenting her Naval Force. A great Number of Ships might have been built in a Year or two, and her Land Soldiers, as faſt as diſbanded, would have been converted into Marines, and ſent on board her Ships, with a few Seamen in each, to inſtruct them in their Trade. By this Means ſhe might ſoon have provided herſelf with a moſt formidable Navy, and in the mean Time ſhe would have encouraged *Spain* to continue the War againſt us. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I have, Sir, as good, and perhaps as juſt an Opinion of our naval Force, and of the Bravery of our Seamen, as any Gentleman whatever; but let us recollect, what a Figure *France* made at Sea towards the End of the laſt Century, and even in the laſt War in Queen *Anne*'s Time. If we had then had no Aſſiſtance from the *Dutch*, we ſhould not perhaps have found ourſelves ſuch an Overmatch for the *French* at Sea, as ſome People imagine we now are; and yet, during all that Time, ſhe kept up moſt numerous Armies at Land. What then have we to expect, ſhould the whole Treaſure and Strength of *France*, or the greateſt Part of both, be turned towards gaining a Superiority, or at leaſt an Equality at Sea? In the laſt two Wars, we gained, 'tis true, by the Help of the *Dutch*, ſeveral great Naval Victories over the *French*, but it was not altogether by thoſe Victories we beat them out of that Element. If I may be allowed the Expreſſion, by Land we beat them out of the Sea. We obtained ſo great and ſo many Victories at Land, that they were forced to neglect their Sea Affairs, in order to apply their whole Strength, both in Money and Men, to defend their Country, I may ſay, their Capital, at Land. Therefore, if both *France* and *Spain* ſhould join in a War againſt us, and we ſhould have no one to aſſiſt us, nor they any Enemy to fear at Land, I would not have Gentlemen vainly imagine, that we ſhould be in no Danger of loſing our Superiority, even upon our own Element; and if we did, what dreadful Conſequences ſhould we not have to apprehend?

'Thank God! Sir, by the wiſe Meaſures his Majeſty has taken, and is now about, we ſeem at preſent to be out of this Danger; and in all thoſe Meaſures, I hope, I have made it evident, that his Majeſty has ſolely purſued the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, even at the Riſk of his *German* Dominions. I am therefore ſurpriſed, how any one can ſuppoſe, that the Intereſt of *Great Britain* has, in any of our late Meaſures, been ſacrificed to the Intereſt of *Hanover*; but as this ſcandalous Reflection (I beg Pardon for the Expreſſion,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

preſſion, my Concern for our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment forces it from me) has been carried much farther back than any of our late Meaſures, I muſt beg your Indulgence for removing that Aſperſion.

'It is impoſſible, Sir, to miſtake the Spirit by which the Authors and Propagators of this Miſrepreſentation are actuated, when we conſider that they begin it with the very firſt Tranſaction of a Foreign Nature, in which his late Majeſty was engag'd after his Acceſſion, and carry it down from that Time to this very Day, pretending, that not only our Diſpute with *Sweden* in the Year 1715, but all our Foreign Tranſactions ſince that Time, have been govern'd by that Influence which the Intereſt of *Hanover* has had upon the Counſels of *Great Britain*. A Miſrepreſentation thus begun and continued can proceed from nothing but a Spirit of *Jacobitiſm*, and a fix'd Deſign to render the People of this Kingdom diſaffected as well as diſcontented; and therefore it is the Duty of every Man who is a Friend to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment to ſet the Affair of *Sweden*, and all our other Foreign Affairs, in their juſt and true Light, which may eaſily be done by any one that conſiders the Dates of our Negotiations and Treaties, and the Circumſtances our Affairs were in at each reſpective Time.

'As to our Diſpute with *Sweden* in the Year 1715, it was ſo far from proceeding from his late Majeſty's Purchaſe of *Bremen* and *Verden*, that it took its Riſe from what had happened before his Acceſſion to our Throne. For ſeveral Years before that Time, our Trade had been interrupted in the *Baltick*, and ſeveral of our Merchant Ships plunder'd by *Swediſh* Privateers or Cruizers. This we had complained of at the Court of *Sweden*, often before his late Majeſty's Acceſſion; and as the *Dutch* had met with the ſame Treatment, they joined with us in thoſe Complaints. We had jointly preſented ſeveral Memorials to the King or Senate of *Sweden*, before as well as after his late Majeſty's Acceſſion; and when his late Majeſty found, that theſe Memorials had no Effect, he at laſt reſolved, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, to ſend a ſtrong Squadron into the *Baltick* for protecting the Trade of both Nations. Accordingly in *May* 1715, the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Squadrons ſailed to the *Baltick*, whereas the Treaty between his late Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, and the King of *Denmark*, about the Purchaſe of *Bremen* and *Verden*, was not concluded till the 26th of *July* following. Therefore, it is evident, that our ſending a Squadron into the *Baltick* proceeded from his late Majeſty's Care of our Trade, and not from any Engagements he was under by

by a Treaty which was not concluded till ſome Months after. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The ſame Cauſe made it neceſſary for us, and for the *Dutch* as well as us, to ſend a Squadron into the *Baltick* in the Year 1716; and the Behaviour of the King of *Sweden* towards this Nation, made it at laſt neceſſary for us to come to an open Rupture, and to provide againſt the Deſigns of that violent and obſtinate Prince. Thus it is apparent, that in this whole Affair between *Sweden* and us, the Intereſt of *Hanover* could have no Manner of Concern; and as little in the defenſive Alliance concluded in 1716, between his late Majeſty and the Emperor. Before and at the Time of concluding this Alliance, the Court of *France*, even after the Regent's getting the Government ſolely into his Hands, had given evident Indications of their being inclined to proſecute a Scheme concerted in their late King's Life-time, for ſetting the Pretender upon the Throne of theſe Kingdoms. This made it neceſſary for his late Majeſty to provide for his Defence, which he did, firſt by procuring an Accommodation of all Differences between the Emperor and the States General in the Year 1715, and afterwards by this Defenſive Alliance with the Emperor in the Year 1716. By theſe two Treaties he laid a Foundation for another grand Confederacy againſt *France*, in caſe that Court had perſiſted in her Deſign of eſtabliſhing Popery and arbitrary Power in this Kingdom, by placing a Popiſh Pretender upon our Throne; and the Fear of this had ſuch an Effect upon the late Regent of *France*, that it produced a thorough Change in his Meaſures, and made him court the Friendſhip inſtead of provoking the Reſentment of the late King.

'His Majeſty having thus ſecured himſelf and his Kingdoms againſt thoſe who were contriving the Deſtruction of both, his next Care was to ſecure the Tranquility of *Europe*, which had been left upon a very precarious, or rather upon no Foundation at all. By the Conduct of thoſe who had negociated that infamous Treaty, all Faith and Confidence had been deſtroyed among thoſe who were the Members of that formidable Confederacy, which had brought *France* ſo low, and would have kept her ſo, if it had been preſerved; and the Diſpute about the Succeſſion to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was left ſubſiſting without any Sort of Agreement between the two Parties pretending to that Succeſſion. By the two Treaties I have mentioned, his late Majeſty had entirely reſtored that Confidence, which formerly ſubſiſted between the three chief Members of the grand Alliance; but the Diſpute, or rather an open War ſtill ſubſiſted between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and the latter was actually making Preparations for

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

its Proſecution, ſo that ſomething ſtill remain'd to be done for reſtoring and preſerving the Tranquility of *Europe*; and as the Regent of *France* was then willing to join with his late Majeſty in his pacifick Meaſures, this produced firſt the Treaty of Alliance and Guaranty between *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Holland*, in the Year 1717, by which we obtained the Demolition of *Mardyke*, and the Baniſhment of the Pretender from *Avignon*; and the Quadruple Alliance between the Emperor, *France*, *Great Britain*, and *Holland*, by which the Diſpute about the Succeſſion to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was fully determined, and a Method ſettled for compelling the King of *Spain* to agree to it, in caſe it ſhould be found, that no fair Means would prevail.

'But, Sir, the King of *Spain*, after having adjuſted all his Differences with us by the Treaty in 1721, agreed to ſubmit all his Differences with the Emperor to be determined at the Congreſs of *Cambray*, and in the mean Time to ſuſpend all Manner of Hoſtilities. Thus the Affairs of *Europe* ſtood when the Court of *France* ſent back the *Infanta* of *Spain*, and the Emperor ſet up the *Eaſt India* Company at *Oſtend*, which quite changed the Face of Affairs in *Europe*. The Eſtabliſhment of that Company produced a Difference between the Emperor and the Maritime Powers, the ſending back the Infanta produced a Breach between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and the latter's inſiſting upon the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*, created an Uneaſineſs between them and us; and all theſe joined together united the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and produced the famous Treaty between them, concluded at *Vienna* in 1725. By the very Terms of this Treaty it was evident, that the Emperor was reſolved to compel the *Dutch* and us to ſubmit to the Continuance of his *Oſtend* Company, and that *Spain* was reſolved to force *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon* from us, and perhaps to attack *France*, in order to revenge the Affront put upon them by ſending back their *Infanta*. Theſe Deſigns, I ſay, appeared upon the very Face of the Treaty, and from the moſt undoubted Authority his late Majeſty had Intelligence, that Engagements were entered into by ſecret Articles between thoſe two Powers, which were of much more dangerous Conſequence to *Europe* in general, as well as to this Nation in particular.

'By theſe open and ſecret Engagements between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, the Tranquility of *Europe* became expoſed, and the Trade of this Nation was in Danger of ſuffering from the Privileges granted by the King of *Spain* to the Subjects of his Imperial Majeſty. Here again his late Majeſty

Majeſty's Care for the Trade of this Nation and the Peace of *Europe*, were manifeſted, by his ſo ſpeedily and ſeaſonably concluding the Treaty of *Hanover*, and by the prudent Meaſures he afterwards took in drawing other Powers into that Defenſive Alliance, and in preventing the Return of the *Spaniſh* Galleons from *America*, without which neither the Emperor nor *Spain* could come at the Sinews of War. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'By theſe Meaſures, Sir, the Emperor and the King of *Spain* were defeated in all their ambitious Schemes: The Tranquility of *Europe* was ſecured; and the Trade of this Nation reſtored to its former flouriſhing Condition. Can it be ſaid, that the Intereſt of *Hanover* had the leaſt Concern in any of theſe Meaſures? Did it receive the leaſt Benefit or Advantage from any of theſe Treaties? On the contrary, by his late and preſent Majeſty's declaring ſo openly, and acting ſo vigorouſly againſt the *Oſtend* Company, and the other Projects of the Court of *Vienna*, was not the Electorate of *Hanover* expoſed to an immediate Attack? So that it may be juſtly ſaid, that her Intereſt and even Safety has more than once been ſacrificed to the Preſervation of the Tranquility and Trade of this Nation; for that it is again liable to an Attack by the Meaſures now purſuing, and particularly by thoſe now under our Conſideration, I believe, no Gentleman will queſtion.

'I hope, Sir, I have now fully removed that wicked Aſperſion which has been caſt upon his late and preſent Majeſty's Conduct: I hope, I have demonſtrated, that the Intereſt of this Nation neither is now, nor ever has been ſo much as once ſacrificed to the Intereſt of the Electorate of *Hanover*; and, that all our Treaties and Negotiations, and in ſhort all our Foreign Meaſures, ever ſince the Acceſſion of our preſent Royal Family, have been either defenſive or preventive; and the reſpective Events have ſhewn, that they were wiſely calculated for the Ends for which they were intended. I hope, therefore, the Motion now before you will be unanimouſly agreed to; for tho' it has been inſinuated, that the Price we are to pay for theſe Troops is extravagant, it will appear at firſt View to every one who reads over the Eſtimate, that all the Articles of Expence are neceſſary, and no one of them charged higher than what is uſual upon ſuch Occaſions. Our ready Compliance with this Motion will convince the Powers of *Europe*, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* is reſolved to concur with their Sovereign in the moſt vigorous Meaſures for ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, let the Expence or Riſk be what it will; and this alone

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

lone may ſuffice to re-eſtabliſh the Peace of *Europe*, for both the Emperor and *France* will from thence conclude, that they cannot pretend to preſcribe Terms to a magnanimous Princeſs, ſupported by ſuch brave Subjects, and by ſo powerful an Ally. This of courſe will incline them to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms of Peace, and will prevent the *French* King's aiming at any new Addition to his own Dominions, which he may very probably accompliſh, if we allow him to reduce the Queen of *Hungary* to any greater Diſtreſs; for late Experience may convince us, that we are not to truſt to his moſt ſolemn Proteſtations; and if this ſhould be the Conſequence of our refuſing to comply with this Motion, I believe, the Gentlemen who were the Authors of that Refuſal, would find it very difficult to anſwer to their Conſtituents for their ill-timed Parſimony at ſuch a dangerous Conjuncture.

Lord *Quarendon* * ſpoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

Ld. Quarendon.

'As the preſent unlucky Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* muſt be acknowledged, even by thoſe whoſe late Conduct has been the chief Occaſion of it, they have certainly good Reaſon to endeavour to aſſign an accidental Cauſe; but no Man who knows any Thing of the late Hiſtory of *Europe* will allow, that the Cauſe they themſelves aſſign, was ſuch a one as could not be foreſeen. The Pretenſions which ſome of the Princes of *Germany* had to a Part of the *Auſtrian* Dominions were well known, and conſidering the Circumſtances of the late Emperor's Family, it was highly probable, that he might die, before any proper Meaſures could be taken for giving him a Succeſſor to the Empire. It might likewiſe have been foreſeen, that upon this Event's happening, the *Bourbon* Family would endeavour to make their Advantage of it, by raiſing, if poſſible, a Civil War in *Germany*, and appropriating ſome Part of the *Auſtrian* Dominions to themſelves. All theſe Things were known, or might have been foreſeen, long before we guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and the fatal Conſequences that have enſued might have been in a great meaſure prevented, if we had purſued proper and vigorous Meaſures twenty Years ago.

'For this Purpoſe, Sir, we ſhould have been extremely watchful to prevent, if poſſible, any Acceſſion of Power to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, or any Diminution of Power in the Houſe of *Auſtria*; aud we ſhould have made uſe of all our Influence at the Court of *Vienna* to procure ſome Sort of Satisfaction for thoſe Princes of the Empire, who had Claims upon the Dominions, or Pretenſions to the Succeſſion, of that Houſe

* Now Earl of Lichfield.

Houſe in Caſe of the Emperor's Death without Male Heirs. We ſhould even have inſiſted upon this as a Condition previous to our guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and if we had, we might at leaſt have obtained ſuch a Satisfaction for the King of *Pruſſia*, as would have prevented his entering into any Engagements againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Both theſe Meaſures it was the Intereſt of *England* to purſue, but both became inconſiſtent with the Intereſt, the Claims, or the Reſentments of the Electorate of *Hanover*; and every one who knows any Thing of our Foreign Tranſactions for twenty Years paſt may eaſily judge, by which of theſe two jarring Intereſts the Counſels of this Nation have been governed.

'I am extremely ſorry, Sir, to ſee any Thing like this become the Subject of our Debate; but when it does, and as often as it may hereafter do, it neither is, nor ever will be the Fault of thoſe, who, from the Duty they owe to their Country, endeavour to expoſe this untoward and unlucky Bias in our Counſels: It is, and always will be the Fault of thoſe Miniſters who ſacrifice their Sincerity to their Complaiſance, and, for the Sake of gaining an Intereſt in the Cabinet, betray the Intereſt of their Country and of their Sovereign. It was natural, it was even laudable in his late Majeſty to ſhew an Affection to his native Country, and the Caſe is the ſame with his preſent Majeſty; but the very Reaſon that makes it laudable in him to indulge it, renders it criminal in a *Britiſh* Miniſter to flatter it, or even not to oppoſe it, when he ſees that it is like to be prejudicial to the Intereſt of *Great Britain*. This a *Britiſh* Miniſter may often perceive, when it is impoſſible for his Maſter to perceive it; for ſuch is the Weakneſs of Mankind, that our Judgment is often blinded and miſled by our natural Affections. I am perſuaded, his late Majeſty would never have purſued any Meaſure, however much for the Intereſt of *Hanover*, if he had perceived it to be contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the Intereſt of *Great Britain*; but the Misfortune was, his Affection for his native Country, prevented his perceiving this Inconſiſtency, and his *Britiſh* Miniſters, upon whoſe Advice he moſtly relied, had not the Honeſty to oppoſe what they found their Maſter naturally inclined to.

'This, Sir, has been, and may again be the Caſe: I am convinced, it is the Caſe with regard to this very Meaſure now under our Conſideration; but it can never be a Reaſon with any Man of common Senſe or common Juſtice, for having the leaſt Reſentment againſt the Perſon of his Sovereign, and much leſs againſt the illuſtrious Family now upon our Throne.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Throne. It is a very good Reaſon for Reſentment againſt ſuch Miniſters; and upon them, and them alone, the National Vengeance ought to fall.

'From hence, Sir, it muſt appear, that there can be nothing Treaſonable in any *Britiſh* Subject, either within Doors or without, to trace our publick Meaſures to their original and genuine Motives, and to ſhew that they were founded upon ſuch as were inconſiſtent with the true Intereſt of *Great Britain*. If there be any Treaſon in this Caſe, it muſt be in thoſe Miniſters and in them only, who allow themſelves to be directed by ſuch Motives; for ſurely, the Man who diſcovers the Treaſon is not to be deemed the Traitor.

'After what I have thus premiſed, Sir, I hope, I may take the Liberty to examine into the Grounds of the Meaſure now before us; and if it appears to me to proceed from a greater Regard for the Intereſt of *Hanover*, than for the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, I hope, I may ſay ſo, without being guilty of High Treaſon: If I did not, I am ſure, I ſhould not perform that Duty which I owe to my Country, eſpecially as a Member of this Houſe, and conſequently obliged to declare my Sentiments openly and freely upon every Subject that comes to be debated here.

'Now, Sir, if our publick Affairs upon any former Occaſion, have been directed by ſuch a Motive, it is natural to ſuſpect they may be ſo again; therefore I ſhall firſt take the Liberty to examine ſome of our Foreign Meaſures ſince the Acceſſion of the preſent Royal Family; and this Liberty I am the more intitled to, becauſe an Hon. Gentleman has in this Debate endeavoured to vindicate all our Foreign Meaſures from any ſuch Aſperſion, as he called it. If I can ſhew, that he has failed in his Attempt, and that every Foreign Meaſure he mentioned, proceeded from a greater Regard for the Intereſt of *Hanover* than for the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, it will be an Argument for our ſuſpecting at leaſt, that the Meaſure now under our Conſideration proceeds from a Motive of the ſame Kind, which will of courſe add Weight to every Argument for ſhewing that it does.

To begin with the Affairs of *Sweden*, in the Year 1715. I ſhall grant that the *Swediſh* Cruiſers had given ſome Interruption to our Navigation in the *Baltick* for ſome Years before, but this they were neceſſarily obliged to do, becauſe they were then at War both with *Muſcovy* and *Denmark*, and conſequently had a Right to viſit all Ships ſailing in that Sea, in order to prevent their carrying any contraband Goods to the Enemy. This we now do, on account of our being at War with *Spain*: This all Nations do, when they are at War

War with any other Nation. Perhaps the *Swediſh* Privateers or Cruiſers were, in the Exerciſe of this Right, ſometimes guilty of Acts of Injuſtice or Oppreſſion: Perhaps ſome Ships or Goods were ſeized and condemned without juſt Cauſe; but I am confident, we had very little of this Sort to complain of: I am confident, that upon a ſtrict Examination many of the Complaints made by our Merchants, from which Mr *Jackſon* formed the Demand he made in *January* 1714-15, were found to be groundleſs; and my Reaſon for being ſo is, becauſe his late Majeſty did not inſiſt upon a Compliance with that Demand, or any Reparation in lieu of it. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Therefore as it is a Maxim with all Nations, not to go to War, or to have Recourſe to hoſtile Meaſures, for Trifles, I am convinced, we neither ought, nor would, upon this Account alone, have menaced and inſulted *Sweden* with a hoſtile Squadron, as we did in *May* following.

'Surely, Sir, thoſe Gentlemen who a few Years ſince argued ſo ſtrenuouſly for not coming to a Rupture with *Spain*, and for accepting of ſuch a mere * Trifle, in lieu of the many Hundred Thouſand Pounds they had robb'd our Merchants of, will not ſay, that we ought to have gone to War with *Sweden*, or to have done any Thing that might cauſe a Rupture for the Sake of 65,000*l.* even ſuppoſing that whole Sum had been juſtly due to us?

'Thus it muſt appear, that the Protection of our Trade, or the Reparation of the Damage that had been done to it, was not the true Motive for our ſending that Squadron into the *Baltick*; we muſt therefore ſeek for another, and we need not go far for it. I hope the Hon. Gentleman will not pretend, that the Purchaſe of *Bremen* and *Verden* was a Bargain never thought of till the very Day the Treaty was concluded. There muſt have been a Negotiation previous to the Treaty, and conſidering the Difficulties with which it was attended, that Negotiation muſt have laſted for ſeveral Months. As the Treaty was concluded in *July* 1715, that is, in leſs than twelve Months after his late Majeſty's Acceſſion, I am convinced, the Purchaſe was thought of, and the Negotiation begun, before his late Majeſty ſet Foot upon *Engliſh* Ground. The Conſiderations publickly avowed were, that his late Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, ſhould declare War againſt *Sweden*, pay 600,000 *Rix-Dollars* to the King of *Denmark*, and guaranty to him the Poſſeſſion

* See the Debate upon the CONVENTION with SPAIN, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory Anno 1739, Vol. XI.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Sleſwick*. Theſe, I ſay, Sir, were the Conſiderations publickly avowed; but it is highly probable that there was a private Conſideration previouſly promiſed, which was the ſending of a ſtrong *Britiſh* Squadron into the *Baltick*, without which the King of *Denmark* could not proceed in his Deſign of making a Deſcent upon *Schonen*; and that the King of *Denmark* refuſed to conclude the Treaty for the Purchaſe, till this Squadron was actually arrived in the *Baltick*. And further it is probable that, as another private Conſideration for this Purchaſe, his *Daniſh* Majeſty likewiſe inſiſted upon the Elector of *Hanover*'s engaging the King of *Great Britain* to guaranty his Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Sleſwick*; for it is impoſſible to aſſign any other Reaſon for our burdening ourſelves with that Guaranty.

'Theſe publick and private Conſiderations being agreed on long before the Treaty was ſigned, it became abſolutely neceſſary to find out ſome Pretence for ſending a *Britiſh* Squadron into the *Baltick*, and for this Purpoſe a long Account of Damages ſuſtained by our Merchants was made out from their Complaints, and probably was made as high as thoſe Complaints could poſſibly afford Room for; which is another Reaſon for ſuppoſing, that the Demand made by Mr *Jackſon* in *January* 1714-15 was, upon a ſtrict Examination, found to be without any juſt Ground, at leaſt as to the greateſt Part of it; for Merchants often complain of Seizures which, upon Inquiry, appear to have been juſt and agreeable to the Law of Nations.

'As the Interruption of our Trade was thus to be made the Pretence for ſending this Squadron into the *Baltick*, and as the *Dutch* had been interrupted in their Trade as much as we, in order to give an Air of Truth to this Pretence, it became abſolutely neceſſary to prevail with them to join us with a few of their Ships; and if we conſider what they were then ſoliciting at the *Britiſh* Court, we cannot wonder at their being a little complaiſant to us in this Particular; for they ſoon after got a large Sum of Money allowed them by Parliament, for a Debt they pretended to be due to them; and in *November* 1715, the famous Treaty was concluded between the Emperor, the *States General*, and his late Majeſty, for ſecuring to them their Barrier, and for the yearly Payment to them of ſeveral great Sums of Money, as well for maintaining that Barrier, as for the Reimburſement of thoſe which were then due to them.

'If we had meant only the Protection of our Trade, a few Convoys would have been better than a great Squadron; or

or if to procure immediate Reparation and Satisfaction from *Sweden*, our Squadron ſhould have inſiſted upon it, and have bombarded their Towns in caſe of Refuſal. Whether our Squadron made any ſuch Demand I know not, but I am ſure, it returned without obtaining it, or ſhewing any Reſentment at its being refuſed; ſo that with regard to the End for which this Squadron was pretended to be ſent, it had a quite contrary Effect, for it at laſt produced an open War between *Sweden* and us, which put an entire Stop to our Trade with that Kingdom, and during that King's Life was a great Obſtruction to it in every other Part of the *Baltick*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Thus, I think it is evident, or at leaſt highly ſuſpicious, that our War with *Sweden* proceeded from our having a greater Regard to the Intereſt of *Hanover* than to the Intereſt of *Great Britain*; and this Suſpicion will be greatly ſtrengthened, when we conſider the Manner in which that War was put an End to. As the late King of *Sweden* was violent in all his Paſſions, and obſtinate in all his Reſolutions, while he lived his late Majeſty could never obtain from *Sweden* a Surrender of their Right to the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, upon any Conſideration whatever; tho' it was ſtrongly ſollicited and an Offer made, that *Great Britain* ſhould upon that Condition join with him againſt *Ruſſia*; as appears from a Memorial preſented to this Court by the *Ruſſian* Miniſter in *March* 1716-17. But upon the Death of that King the *Swedes* reſolved to give up for a valuable Conſideration, a Right which, they knew, they could not recover, and therefore by a preliminary Treaty concluded in *July*, and a definitive one in *November* 1719, between the Queen of *Sweden* and his late Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, they yielded up to his Majeſty the ſaid two Duchies, in Conſideration of a Million of *Rix-Dollars*, which was the only Conſideration mention'd in the Treaty; but from what followed very ſoon after, we may eaſily perceive, it was not the only one in the Negotiation; for ſo ſoon, as in the Month of *January* following, a Treaty of Peace and Alliance was concluded between his late Majeſty, as King of *Great Britain*, and the Queen of *Sweden*, by which his Majeſty gave up not only all the pretended Demands we had upon *Sweden*, on Account of Damages done to our Trade before the War; but alſo all the real and juſt Demands we had upon that Crown during the War: And farther his Majeſty promiſed to aſſiſt her *Swediſh* Majeſty, as ſoon as poſſible, with Subſidies and Soldiers, in her War againſt the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, and to continue that Aſſiſtance till a Peace ſhould be reſtored.

'Sir,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Sir, can any Motive of a true *Britiſh* Growth be aſſigned for ſuch a Treaty? Conſidering the diſtreſſed Condition *Sweden* was then in, Generoſity and Compaſſion might have induced us to releaſe or ſuſpend a Demand, which that unfortunate Nation was not at that Time able to ſatisfy; but no ſuch Motive, nor any Advantage *Britain* could reap from an Alliance with *Sweden*, could induce us to put ourſelves to ſuch an Expence, or expoſe ourſelves to the Danger of a War with *Muſcovy*; nor had this Nation the leaſt Reaſon to find Fault with the Conduct of the *Czar*; for he did not ſo much as ſeem to aim at a Conqueſt of *Sweden*: He aimed only at getting his conquer'd Provinces upon the *Baltick* ſecured to him, and this we ſhould have ſupported him in, becauſe they opened a direct Trade between us and *Moſcovy*, which has been of great Advantage to us, and may hereafter be of much greater. Yet in Conſequence of this Treaty, we gave a large Subſidy to *Sweden**, and ſent a powerful Squadron into the *Baltick*, which produced a Sort of War between us and *Muſcovy*: I ſay, a ſort of War; for the *Czar* was ſo conſcious of the Influence we were under, that in his Manifeſto upon that Occaſion, he ſaid, he declared War againſt the King, but not againſt the People of *England*, which was a Precedent, I wiſh, we had followed in our preſent War with *Spain*.

'I muſt therefore conclude, Sir, that in the Negotiation between his late Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, and the Queen of *Sweden*, it was ſtipulated that the Elector of *Hanover* ſhould prevail upon the King of *Great Britain* to conclude this Treaty; and that tho' it was ſigned two Months after, it was agreed on before the Treaty for the Ceſſion of *Bremen* and *Verden* was definitively concluded. Conſequently I muſt ſuppoſe, that our Peace with *Sweden*, as well as our War, proceeded from a greater Regard for the Intereſt of *Hanover* than for that of *Great Britain*.

'I ſhall, indeed, grant, Sir, that tho' *Britain* had no Fault to find with the Conduct of the *Czar*, yet the Elector of *Hanover* had on account of the Affairs of *Mecklenburgh*, which the *Czar* had intermeddled in, becauſe of the near Relation between him and the unfortunate Duke of that Name; and as this Affair will contribute towards diſcovering the true Motives of ſome of our other publick Meaſures, I ſhall beg Leave to explain it.

'With regard to this Duchy, there had been a very old Family Compact between the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, now King

* 250,000l. See Vol. VI. p. 121.

King of *Pruſſia*, and the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, by which, in Failure of Heirs Male of either Houſe, the other was to ſucceed; which Contract had been approved and confirmed by ſeveral Emperors: This gave the Family of *Pruſſia* an Intereſt in the Affairs of *Mecklenburgh*, and a View of making it one Day their own. On the other hand, as this Duchy lay contiguous to the Dominions of the *Brunſwick* Family, and would be of great Advantage to them, by giving them a Communication with the *Baltick*, as *Bremen* and *Verden* does with the *German* Ocean, we may ſuppoſe, they have long been contriving Schemes for getting hold of it. In 1664, a Diſpute began between the Dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and the noble Families of that Duchy, which continues to this Day: In this Diſpute the Family of *Pruſſia* has always taken the Part of the Duke, and the Family of *Brunſwick* that of the Nobles; and in 1708, or a little before, the latter obtained from the Imperial Court a Protectorial Commiſſion, directed to the King of *Sweden* and Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, as Directors of the Circle of *Lower Saxony*, to take into their Hands the Adminiſtration of the Government of that Duchy. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'In theſe Circumſtances that Duchy ſtood when the *Czar* marched his Troops into it, in Favour of the Duke and againſt the Nobles. This could not but give Offence to the Family of *Hanover*, not only on Account of their having always taken the Part of the Nobles, but becauſe Baron *Berenſdorf*, at that Time one of his late Majeſty's principal *Hanover* Miniſters reſiding here, was deſcended of a noble Family in *Mecklenburgh*, and had made conſiderable Purchaſes there. Accordingly his late Majeſty left no Stone unturn'd for getting the *Muſcovite* Troops removed out of that Duchy; and here likewiſe this Nation was made to interfere by its Miniſters at ſeveral Courts in *Germany*, of which the *Czar* complained heavily in the Memorial I have mentioned, which was preſented to this Court in *March* 1716-17. At laſt, by the Interpoſition and Weight of this Nation, the *Muſcovite* Troops were removed; and by the ſame Influence a new Protectorial Commiſſion was granted in 1717, by the Imperial Court, to the Elector of *Hanover* and Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, who, without any apparent Cauſe, marched in ſuch a large Body of Troops, as not only conſumed the whole Revenues of the Duchy, but run it vaſtly in Debt every Year, which Debt, by the Laws of the Empire, was to be diſcharg'd before thoſe Troops could be removed; and conſequently a Foundation was laid for the perpetual Poſſeſſion of that Duchy; becauſe the Mortgage would in a ſhort Time have exceeded the Purchaſe.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I ſhall by and by have Occaſion, Sir, to take farther Notice of this Affair of *Mecklenburgh*, and therefore ſhall now conclude it with obſerving, that from every Circumſtance it muſt appear, that our War both with *Sweden* and *Muſcovy* was entirely owing to a peculiar and partial Regard for the Electorate of *Hanover*, and eſpecially to the Purchaſe made by his late Majeſty of the Duchies of *Bremen* or *Verden*. Whether this Nation paid any Part of the Purchaſe Money either to *Denmark* or *Sweden*, I don't ſay; but it is certain that theſe two Wars coſt us an infinite Sum of Money, beſides the Interruption given to our Trade; and I muſt obſerve, that in the Beginning of the Year 1717, 250,000 *l.* was granted to his late Majeſty for providing for our Defence againſt the Deſigns of the then diſtreſſed and oppreſſed King of *Sweden*, which Sum was never to this Day accounted for, nor could it ever be diſcover'd to what Uſe * it was applied; and I muſt farther obſerve, that in the Year 1720, the very Year after the Million of Rixdollars was to be paid to *Sweden* for the Purchaſe of *Bremen* and *Verden*, a Proviſion computed at 600,000 *l.* was made by Parliament, for paying off the Debts of the Civil Liſt; and becauſe this Proviſion did not bring in above 300,000 *l.* therefore the very next Year, a further Sum of † 500,000 *l.* was granted by Parliament for the ſame Purpoſe; ſo that in theſe two Years, we paid no leſs than 800,000 *l.* for making good the Debts of the Civil Liſt, notwithſtanding his late Majeſty's having then been but ſix Years upon our Throne, and his being provided with a much greater Civil Liſt Revenue than had ever been enjoyed by any Sovereign of theſe Kingdoms. Whether any Part of this 250,000 *l.* or of our Civil Liſt Revenue, had been applied towards paying the Purchaſe Money of theſe two Duchies, I ſhall leave to ſome future impartial Inquiry, if ever this Nation ſhould be ſo happy as to ſee ſuch a one ſet on Foot.

'My Subject hitherto, Sir, may appear unaccountable, but what I am now to enter upon muſt aſtoniſh. The Meaſures we were by a *Hanoverian* Influence led into, with regard to *Sweden* and *Muſcovy*, were attended with no bad Conſequences, ſave that of leading the Nation into a needleſs Expence, and an unneceſſary Interruption of a ſmall Branch of its Commerce; but what we have by the ſame Influence been led into, with regard to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, have not only put us to a much larger Expence, but have interrupted our

* In the Year 1726, a Motion was made by Mr SHIPPEN, to addreſs the King for an Account of the Diſpoſal of that Sum: But it paſs'd in the Negative.

† See the Debate upon the ſaid Grant, in CHANDLER's Hiſtory of the Commons, Anno 1721, P. 260.

our Trade in all its moſt valuable Branches, and have at laſt *de fond en comble*, overturned the Balance of Power in *Europe*. In order to ſhew this, I muſt conſider how the Affairs of *Europe* were left by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and how they ſtood at his late Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne. The Treaty of *Utrecht*, Sir, which has been the buffeting Stock of all our little Politicians ſince that Time, and which has been inceſſantly exclaim'd againſt, even by thoſe who have ſince ſhewn themſelves to be arrant Bunglers in Treaty-making: The Treaty of *Utrecht*, I ſay, Sir, if the Parties chiefly concern'd in the Grand Confederacy would but have ſatisfied themſelves with what was reaſonable, had eſtabliſhed the Balance of Power upon a ſolid Baſis, and had laid a Foundation for a Conteſt between *France* and *Spain*, which could hardly miſs of taking Place upon the Death of *Lewis* XIV. who by the Courſe of Nature could live but a very few Years. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'It was not, Sir, the Treaty of *Utrecht*, but the inſatiable Ambition of the Emperor and the *Dutch*, joined with an Error in the firſt Concoction of the Grand Confederacy, which broke the Confidence that ought to have been preſerved among its chief and original conſtituent Members. That Error had made it impoſſible for the Allies to conclude a Treaty of Peace with mutual Conſent; for ſurely no Man of common Senſe will ſay, that it was our Intereſt, or that we ought to have united the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy with the Imperial Diadem and the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in the Perſon of the late Emperor *Charles*. This would have been ridiculous: It would have deſtroyed the very End for which the Grand Confederacy was form'd; and as no Proviſion had been made by the Terms of that Confederacy, or by any future Treaty, for the Caſe of *Charles*'s ſucceeding to his Brother *Joſeph*, there was no Poſſibility of prevailing with *Charles* to join in any Treaty or Negotiation, by which the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was to be given to any other Perſon.

'On the other Hand, Sir, the *Dutch* became ſo fluſhed with the Succeſs of the Confederate Arms, that they began to think of making themſelves entirely Maſters of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, as appears evident, I think, from the Barrier Treaty they brought us into in the Year 1709. It was this Treaty, Sir, that gave the firſt Shock to that Confidence which ſubſiſted till then between the Confederates; for it was concluded without any Communication with the Court of *Vienna*, and the Emperor, as ſoon as he heard of it, proteſted in the ſtrongeſt Terms againſt it. Surely no

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Man will ſay, it could ever be for the Intereſt of this Nation, to have the *Dutch* made Maſters of the Whole or the greateſt Part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and yet this would have been the Caſe, if they had got a Liberty to put as many Troops as they pleaſed, and when they ſhould think neceſſary, not only into the Towns expreſsly mentioned, but into all the Towns, Places and Forts in the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, which was what they ſtipulated, and we agreed to, by the 6th and 7th Articles of that Treaty.

'Theſe Circumſtances, Sir, and theſe ambitious Views in our two chief Allies, made it apparent to us, that it would be impoſſible to begin and carry on any Treaty of Peace, with mutual Conſent and Satisfaction; and as it was not our Intereſt, nor, indeed, in our Power, to carry on the War much longer, it became abſolutely neceſſary for us to begin a Treaty by ourſelves. I ſhall not pretend to juſtify the Treaty of *Utrecht* in every Particular; but if we impartially examine, and candidly judge of all Circumſtances at that Time, we ſhall not find Reaſon to join in all the Reproaches thrown out daily againſt that Treaty, by thoſe who have ſince made ſeveral more deſtructive, more diſhonourable, and more ridiculous Treaties than were ever made by this Nation. By that Treaty we obtained even for thoſe Allies that would not join with us in it, all that had been ſtipulated by the Grand Alliance: We raiſed conſiderably the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: We reduced the Power of *France* low enough, if proper Meaſures had ſince been taken to keep it ſo; and we laid a Foundation for a Conteſt between *France* and *Spain*, which actually took Place within one Year after his late Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne of theſe Kingdoms. But as the Imperial Court would not agree to what had been ſtipulated with regard to *Spain*, tho' there was a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, the War continued between the Emperor and *Spain* at the Time of that Acceſſion, and for ſeveral Years afterwards. And as the *Dutch* were unwilling to depart from the Barrier Treaty I have mentioned, and the Emperor reſolved not to agree to it, the Regulation of that Barrier remained unſettled between them and the Emperor, at the Time of his late Majeſty's Acceſſion.

'Theſe, Sir, were the Circumſtances of Affairs at the Time, or ſoon after the Time of his late Majeſty's Acceſſion. We had no Intereſt, we were under no Engagement to interfere, any other Way than by our good Offices, in the Diſputes either between the Emperor and *Spain*, or between him and the *Dutch*; and we had nothing to fear from

from *France*, especially after the Regent got the Government solely into his Hands; for *Spain* began immediately to intrigue against him, and this it was, and not our defensive Alliance with the Emperor, which made the Regent of *France* court our Friendship and Alliance. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'In these Circumstances, Sir, what had we to do but to live in Peace with all our Neighbours: To avoid carefully entering into any new Engagements; and to think of nothing but the utmost OEconomy with regard to our Domestick Affairs, in order to pay off that great Load of Debt, and clear away that monstrous Heap of Taxes, under which the People of this Nation then groaned, and are groaning to this very Day. This was the Interest of *England:* —— But the Interest of *Hanover* was to make use of the Power and Riches of *England* for increasing its Territories, and this our *British* Ministers ought to have opposed with all their Might, if they had faithfully served either their King or their Country. Did they do so: No, Sir, I have already shewn, how they allowed their Country to be involved in two Wars upon that single Account. But this was not all: By the Treaty with *Denmark* the Electorate got Possession of *Bremen* and *Verden:* The next Thing to be thought on was, how to secure it, and to obtain the Investiture from the Emperor and Empire: For this Purpose *England* was to enter into new Engagements with the Emperor, and to guaranty all the Possessions he had, at the very Time that *Spain* was preparing to attack his Island of *Sardinia*; and this without stipulating any one Thing for ourselves, or any one Concession for putting an amicable End to the Disputes between him and *Spain:* Yet this was agreed to by the Treaty in *May* 1716.

'It was impossible, Sir, not to foresee, that a War with *Spain* would be the Consequence of this Engagement. Was it then the Interest of *England* to enter into it? We knew the Emperor was able enough, notwithstanding his War with the *Turks*, to defend himself against the *Spaniards* in *Italy*; and surely neither the Interest of *England*, nor the Balance of Power, could suffer by their taking the Island of *Sardinia* from him. But the Emperor on his Part promised to guaranty all his late Majesty then enjoyed and possessed, in which *Bremen* and *Verden* was included; and farther it is to be supposed, that the Emperor promised, at least verbally, to grant his late Majesty a Protectorial Commission for the Duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, and to grant him the Investiture of *Bremen* and *Verden*, as soon as *Sweden* could be prevailed on to yield up her Right. These two Promises, I say, are to be supposed, because the Protectorial Commission for *Mecklenburgh* was

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

actually granted the Year following, and becauſe our Court-Writers have ſince aſſerted the other, and reproached † the Imperial Court with Breach of Faith in that Reſpect.

'These Favours for *Hanover*, Sir, were by our Miniſters allowed to be a ſufficient Conſideration for *England*'s entering into an Engagement, which would certainly involve her in a War with Spain. But before I leave this famous Treaty, I muſt obſerve, that the two contracting Parties engaged to defend and preſerve, not only all they then actually poſſeſſed, but all they ſhould afterwards by mutual Conſent acquire in *Europe*. It is evident, that this additional Engagement had no Relation to *England*, becauſe it is againſt our Intereſt to acquire any Thing in *Europe*; but both the Elector of *Hanover* and the Emperor had each a View in this Engagement. The former was, if poſſible, to acquire *Mecklenburgh*, and the latter the fruitful Iſland of *Sicily* in Exchange for the barren one of *Sardinia*. This the Emperor had inſiſted on from the Time of his late Majeſty's Acceſſion; and probably it was brought into Negotiation at the Time this Defenſive Treaty was negotiated. I ſay probably, becauſe if the Duke of *Savoy*, then King of *Sicily*, had not known that this unequal Bargain was to be forced upon him, he would have made a much better Defence againſt the *Spaniards* when they attack'd that Iſland than he actually did; for he in a Manner ſurrendered it up to them as ſoon as they landed. And probably the King of *Spain* would never have attack'd that Iſland, if he had not known, that a Scheme was formed for compelling him to renounce the Right of Reverſion as to that Iſland, which he had reſerved to himſelf by the Treaty of *Utrecht*; for the Court of *Spain* had certainly heard of this Scheme, before they attack'd *Sicily*, becauſe it was finally ſettled and made a Part of the Quadruple Alliance, which was concluded in *July* 1718.

'Having now done with the Motives, I ſhall next, Sir, conſider the Conſequences of this Defenſive Treaty with the Emperor. As he abſolutely refuſed to come to any Terms of Accommodation with the *Spaniards*, they attacked and took Poſſeſſion of *Sardinia* in the Year 1717. Upon this Event, he called upon us to perform the Guaranty we had entered into the Year before; and as he had then granted his late Majeſty the Protectorial Commiſſion for *Mecklenburgh*, and ſeemed ſtill willing to grant the Inveſtiture of *Bremen* and *Verden*, as ſoon as *Sweden* could be brought to conſent to it, we engaged in his Quarrel with a moſt extraordinary Zeal, attacked

† The Rt. Rev. Author of a famous Pamphlet, intituled, An Inquiry into the Reaſons of the Conduct of Great Britain, publiſh'd Anno 1726.

attacked and deſtroyed † the *Spaniſh* Fleet in 1718, and put him in Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, and the Duke of *Savoy* in Poſſeſſion of *Sardinia*, before the Year 1720. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Tho' it was not the Intereſt of this Kingdom to engage with the Emperor in this War with *Spain*; yet having once engaged, it was certainly both our Intereſt and our Duty to continue and puſh the War till we could bring our Ally, as well as ourſelves, off with Honour and a reaſonable Satisfaction; but the Intereſt of *Hanover*, unlucky for us, took this Year a new Turn, which prevented our performing our Duty either to ourſelves or our Ally. For explaining this, I muſt obſerve, that in *November* 1719, the definitive Treaty between his late Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, and the Queen of *Sweden*, was concluded, by which ſhe yielded up her Right to the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*; and upon this it is to be ſuppoſed, an Application was made to the Court of *Vienna*, for having the Inveſtiture forthwith granted; but a new Obſtacle preſented itſelf, which was the Claim of the Duke of *Holſtein* to thoſe two Duchies. As that Prince was the Son of the King of *Sweden*'s eldeſt Siſter, he was, by the Laws of the Empire, which could not be altered by any Regulation made in *Sweden*, the Lineal Succeſſor to thoſe two Duchies, and as ſuch he put in his Claim, which the Emperor could not but allow, and therefore refuſed granting the Inveſtiture without a Surrender from that Prince. I muſt likewiſe obſerve, Sir, that the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, ſupported by the *Czar* and King of *Pruſſia*, applied to the Court of *Vienna* for an Order to the Elector of *Hanover* and Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, the Protectorial Commiſſioners, to bring in an Account of his Revenues, and their Demands upon his Duchy; and the Emperor was ſo uncomplaiſant, tho' I cannot ſay unjuſt, as to iſſue ſuch an Order, or *Reſcribatur*, as it is called in *Germany*, dated *April* 23d, 1720.

'Theſe, Sir, were two Strokes which could never be forgiven by the Electorate of *Hanover*; and the firſt Method it took to ſhew its Reſentment, was to perſuade us to make up at any Rate a ſeparate Peace with *Spain*, which we did the very next Year, upon Terms not very honourable, to ſay no worſe; for we acknowledged ourſelves in the wrong, by promiſing to reſtore the Men of War we had taken from them in 1718, and his late Majeſty was induced to make a Sort of Promiſe, by a Letter under his own Hand, to reſtore *Gibraltar* to *Spain*. * So little was the Intereſt, or even the

† See the Account of that Tranſaction, in the Debates of the Houſe of Lords. Vol. III. p. 95.

* This Letter at Large is to be found in the APPENDIX to the Eighth Volume.

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Poſſeſſions of *England* minded by our Miniſters, when their Preſervation became inconſiſtent with the Reſentment of the Electorate of *Hanover* againſt the Emperor.

'Thus, Sir, the Electoral Reſentment began to ſhew itſelf againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and this has been the true Cauſe of the many wrong Steps we have made ſince that Time, by which that Houſe has been reduced to the lamentable State it is now in; for the late Emperor was ſo far from endeavouring to mollify this Reſentment, that he rather ſharpened it by his ſubſequent Behaviour. From the Year 1720, he continued to ſend ſuch *Reſcribaturs* as I have mentioned, yearly or half yearly. In 1722 he reduced the Elector of *Hanover*'s Claim upon *Mecklenburgh*, which amounted to ſome Millions of Dollars, to between 6 and 700,000; and upon his late Majeſty's Death, he refuſed to continue his Protectorial Commiſſion to his preſent Majeſty, but inſtead thereof, granted the Adminiſtration of the Duchy to Duke *Chriſtian Louis*, Brother and preſumptive Heir to the preſent Duke; which Adminiſtration he poſitively refuſed to revoke, notwithſtanding all that could be done, by the Mediation of *France*, at the Congreſs of *Soiſſons* in 1729. This continued the Reſentment of the Electoral Houſe againſt the Imperial, and it is this Reſentment that was the true Cauſe of our Treaty of *Hanover* in 1725; of our being ſo ready to join in an Alliance with *France* and *Spain* in 1729, for compelling the Emperor to admit the *Spaniſh* Troops into *Italy*; and of our leaving him to ſhift for himſelf in 1733, when he was attack'd by *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*. Our abandoning him at that Time was but too clear a Proof of our not being ſincere in the Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which, through Neceſſity, we had granted him but two Years before; and this gave Encouragement to that Attack which is now carrying on againſt the Queen of *Hungary*.

'It is eaſy, Sir, to find ſome other ſpecious Pretences for all theſe Meaſures; but thoſe have already been ſo often, and ſo fully refuted, that I ſhall not take up your Time with a Repetition, and therefore, I ſhall now examine our Conduct, ſince the late Emperor's Death. Upon that unlucky Event, (I ſay unlucky, Sir, for it had been made ſo by our Conduct for above twenty Years towards the Houſe of *Auſtria*) every one might have foreſeen, that the Queen of *Hungary* would be attack'd by the Elector of *Bavaria*, ſupported by *France*, if they found any Reaſon to hope, that ſhe was not to be aſſiſted, in the moſt ſincere and vigourous Manner, by the Maritime Powers and the united Force of all or moſt of the other Princes of *Germany*. This it was the Intereſt of *England* to do; This it was the Intereſt of *Holland* to do:

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This it was the true Intereſt of all the other Princes of *Germany* to do; but the chief and moſt potent of them, the King of *Pruſſia*, had ſome old Claims upon the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which were certainly to be ſatisfied, before it could be expected, that he would act with Sincerity in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. Nay, it was very much to be apprehended, that he would join againſt her, if immediate Satisfaction ſhould be refuſed. If the *Britiſh* Court had been actuated by a true *Britiſh* Spirit, they would have ſtipulated Satisfaction for him before they had guaranty'd the *Pragmatick Sanction*; but in this too a *Hanoverian* Spirit prevailed over our Counſels; for there had been long an Emulation and a Jealouſy between the Family of *Brandenburgh* and the Family of *Brunſwick*, and to this the late King of *Pruſſia* had added particular Diſobligations, by his not ſeconding our Views in the Treaty of *Hanover*, by his ſupporting the Duke of *Mecklenburgh* againſt us, by renewing the old Family Compact with that Duke in the Year 1726, and by another Incident of a more Domeſtick Nature. For this Reaſon, we could not bear to think of ſtipulating any Addition to the *Pruſſian* Dominions on the Side of *Sileſia*, without which we could not expect his Aſſiſtance in our Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and yet, if our Miniſters were ſincere in that *Guaranty*, which there is great Ground to queſtion, it was ridiculous to think of it, without ſecuring the Aſſiſtance of *Pruſſia*, by procuring him at leaſt a ſtipulated Satisfaction, to take place upon the Emperor's Death, with regard to his Claims upon *Sileſia*.

'But, Sir, tho' our Miniſters did not, perhaps, act with Sincerity at that Time towards the Emperor, yet ſurely the Dangers that threatened *Europe* by his Death, ſhould have made them act with Sincerity towards their Sovereign. Whether they did ſo or not we ſhall preſently ſee. The Emperor died, I think, on the 20th of *October*, without any Satisfaction ſo much as promiſed to the King of *Pruſſia*, who therefore reſolved to take by Force what had hitherto been refuſed him by fair Means, which Reſolution he executed with ſuch Expedition, that on the 17th of *December* he entered *Sileſia* at the Head of a conſiderable Army; proteſting however, at the ſame Time, that he was ready to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with the Courts of *Vienna*, *Ruſſia*, and the Maritime Powers, for guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and for procuring the Imperial Dignity for the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon Condition of his receiving immediate Satisfaction as to his Claims upon *Sileſia*, which had nothing to do with the *Pragmatick Sanction*, nor could be conſtrued as a Breach

of

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

of that Settlement; and intimating that he was willing to accept of a Part of what he had a Right to, and that he would aſſiſt in procuring her an Amends for the Loſs ſhe might ſuſtain upon that Occaſion. In ſhort, Sir, it appeared from every Part of his Conduct, that he was extremely willing to come to any reaſonable Accommodation with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and as unwilling to join with thoſe who were meditating the Ruin of that Houſe, and ſolliciting, and even tempting him with great Offers, to join with them in that Project.

'Upon this important Emergency, Sir, what was the Intereſt of *England?* How were our Miniſters, or our Court, to behave in this Diſpute between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Pruſſia?* Surely, to ſollicit, to inſiſt upon it, to make it the abſolute Condition of our doing, or promiſing to do any Thing, in favour of the former, that ſhe ſhould at any Rate give Satisfaction to the latter, and bring him into a ſtrict Alliance with us. It was not enough to bring him into a Neutrality. We ſtood in need of his powerful Aſſiſtance. We could not do without it. If we had done this, ſhe would have comply'd, ſhe muſt have comply'd; and ſhe might then have purchaſed his Aſſiſtance for leſs than ſhe has now purchaſed his Neutrality; in which Caſe, *Bavaria* might have proteſted, but he would not have dared to attack, and *France* would have continued to profeſs what ſhe never had, a ſincere Regard for her Engagements. Did our Miniſters do this, Sir? Does it not appear from the Papers upon our Table, they did not? What is the Reaſon? Sir, the Reaſon is manifeſt. The Miniſters of *Hanover*, for the Cauſes I have already aſſigned, were averſe to any Extenſion of the Dominions of *Pruſſia*. Nay, there is ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect, that they, fooliſhly imagining that *France* would not intermeddle in the Affairs of *Germany*, began to form a Scheme for joining with the Queen of *Hungary*, and dividing the *Pruſſian* Dominions between them; for, beſide the Paper we have heard of, ſent hither from *Vienna*, we know, that as ſoon as his *Pruſſian* Majeſty attack'd *Sileſia*, and before the Elector of *Bavaria* marched a Man into *Auſtria*, or the *French* a Man into *Germany*, there were Orders given for adding 6000 Men to the Troops of *Hanover*. With this View therefore it was not the Intereſt of *Hanover* to inſiſt upon the Queen of *Hungary*'s giving Satisfaction to *Pruſſia*, and this, as in other Caſes, became the Rudder of *Britiſh* Politicks.

'Whether our *Britiſh* Miniſters gave any Countenance to this Scheme of attacking *Pruſſia*, I don't affirm; but there

there are ſome Circumſtances which render it highly ſuſpi- An. 16. Geo. II.
cious; for before the *French* marched a Man into *Germany*, 1742.
there were Orders given to the foreign Troops in *Britiſh* Pay to march towards *Hanover*, and ſome Preparations made for embarking a large Body of *Britiſh* Troops, to be ſent ſomewhere, and againſt ſome Body: Where or againſt whom, I ſhall not pretend to ſay; but, I am ſure, it was not againſt our Enemies the *Spaniards*. And whatever was the Deſign of theſe Preparations, they had a moſt fatal Effect: They confirmed the Queen of *Hungary* in her Obſtinacy towards *Pruſſia*, forced that Prince into an Alliance with *France* and *Bavaria*, and thereby produced the War now carrying on in *Germany*; for till that Time, neither the *French* nor *Bavarians* would venture to attack, or to march a Man againſt the Queen of *Hungary*.

'The March of the *French* Troops, and their Entrance into *Germany*, eſpecially thoſe that marched into *Weſtphalia*, awaked the *Hanover* Miniſters out of their golden Dream: They thought no more of attacking *Pruſſia*, or of coming in for a Snack of his Dominions: They thought of nothing but a Neutrality; and this too muſt have an Effect upon our Counſels; for at the ſame Time that we were ſending Money to ſupport the Queen of *Hungary*, we allowed the *Spaniards* to paſs quietly by our Fleet to attack her. Like an Aider at a Boxing Match, we help to raiſe her up, and then ſtand quietly by to ſee her knock'd down.

'Soon after this, Sir, there happened ſome little Change in our Counſellors, tho', I am afraid, none at all in our Counſels; and contrary to all Expectation, the Queen of *Hungary* ſupports herſelf to a Miracle. The King of *Pruſſia* too, by the ill Uſage he met with from the *French*, is drawn off from the Alliance againſt her, which brought the preſent Emperor, and the *French* Army in *Bohemia*, into ſuch Diſtreſs, that they offer her very reaſonable Terms of Peace. Upon this unlook'd, unhoped for Event, what was *England* to do? As in the preſent Circumſtances of *Europe*, we can hardly expect to procure better Terms for her, it was certainly the Intereſt of *England* to adviſe her to accept of them. But the *Hanover* Miniſters obſerving how zealouſly the People of *England* had declared for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, they had, before this happened, formed a Scheme, to make uſe of this our Zeal as a Handle for touching a pretty round Sum of our Money, under the Pretence of lending us a Body of their Troops for the Support of our Favourite the Queen of *Hungary*. It was therefore contrary to the Intereſt of *Hanover* to adviſe the Queen of

Hungary

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. *Hungary* to accept of the Terms offered her; and, I believe, it will appear, that they had ſuch an Influence upon our *Britiſh* Miniſters as to get them to encourage her not to accept of them. Accordingly ſhe rejects them, and to encourage her to do ſo, as well as to form a Pretence for taking thoſe *Hanoverian* Troops into our Pay, this Nation was put to the Expence of tranſporting a large Body of its Troops to *Flanders*, and of keeping in Pay a much more numerous Army than we ſhould otherwiſe have had Occaſion for.

'Thus, Sir, I think it is evident, that our taking thoſe Troops into our Pay proceeded from *Hanoverian* Counſels; and as we followed the Advice of *Hanoverian* Miniſters, in taking thoſe Troops into our Pay, I believe, we ſhall follow the ſame Advice in the Uſe we make of them, or even of our own that are joined with them. How the Counſels of *Hanover* may alter, I ſhall not pretend to foretel; but at preſent, it is plain to me, that they do not intend to give any real Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*; for if they did, they would at leaſt ſend her the 4000 Men, which they are engaged to ſend her by their Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction. As they have not done this, I muſt ſuppoſe, they do not intend to aſſiſt her; and as we neither can nor ought to aſſiſt her, without their Concurrence, I am againſt putting the Nation to an Expence, which can no Way redound to our own Benefit, or to the Advantage of our Ally the Queen of *Hungary*, however it may to *Hanover*.

Mr W. Pitt. Then Mr *William Pitt* roſe up and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'If the Gentlemen, who have ſpoke in Support of this Motion, are, as they pretend, determin'd to abandon their preſent Sentiments as ſoon as any better Methods are propoſed, the Miniſtry will very quickly be deprived of their ableſt Defenders; for I think the Meaſures which have hitherto been purſued ſo weak and pernicious, that ſcarcely an Alteration can be propoſed, that will not be for the Advantage of the Nation.

'They have already been informed there was no Neceſſity of hiring Auxiliary Troops, ſince it does not yet appear, that either Juſtice or Policy required us to engage in the Quarrels of the Continent, that there was any Need of forming an Army in the Low Countries, or that, in order to form an Army, Auxiliaries were neceſſary.

'But not to dwell upon diſputable Queſtions, I think it may be juſtly concluded, that the Meaſures of our Miniſtry have been ill concerted, becauſe it is undoubtedly wrong to

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ſquander the publick Money without Effect, and to pay Armies only to be a Show to our Friends, and a Jeſt to our Enemies. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The Troops of *Hanover*, whom we are now expected to pay, marched into the Low Countries, indeed, and ſtill remain in the ſame Place; they marched to the Place moſt diſtant from Enemies, leaſt in Danger of an Attack, and moſt ſtrongly fortified, if any Attack had been deſign'd; nor have any Claim to be paid, but that they left their own Country for a Place of greater Security.

'It is always reaſonable to judge of the future by the paſt, and therefore it is probable, that the Services of theſe Troops will not, next Year, be of equal Importance, with that for which they are now to be paid: And I ſhall not be ſurpriſed, tho' the Opponents of the Miniſtry ſhould be challenged, after ſuch another glorious Campaign, to propoſe better Men, and ſhould be told, that the Money of this Nation cannot be more properly employed than in hiring *Hanoverians* to eat and ſleep.

'But to prove yet more particularly, that better Meaſures may be taken, and that more uſeful Troops may be retained, and that therefore the Honourable Gentlemen may be expected to quit thoſe to whom they now adhere, I ſhall ſhow, that in hiring the Forces of *Hanover*, we have obſtructed our own Deſigns; that we have, inſtead of aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, withdrawn Part of her Allies from her, and that we have burthened the Nation with Troops, from whom no Service can be reaſonably expected.

'The Advocates for the Miniſtry have on this Occaſion affected to ſpeak of the Balance of Power, the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Preſervation of the Queen of *Hungary*, not only as if they were to be the chief Care of *Great Britain*, which, though eaſily controvertible, might, perhaps in Compliance with long Prejudices, be admitted, but as if they were to be the Care of *Great Britain* alone; as if the Power of *France* were formidable to no other People; as if no other Part of the World would be injured by becoming a Province to an univerſal Monarchy, and being ſubjected to an arbitrary Government of a *French* Deputy, by being drained of its Inhabitants, only to extend the Conqueſts of its Maſters, and to make other Nations equally miſerable, and by being oppreſſed with exorbitant Taxes levied by military Executions, and employed only in ſupporting the State of its Oppreſſors. They dwell upon the Importance of publick Faith, and the Neceſſity of an exact Obſervation of Treaties,

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Treaties, as if the Pragmatick Sanction had been ſigned by no other Potentate than the King of *Great Britain*, or as if the publick Faith were to be obligatory to us only.

'That we ſhould inviolably obſerve our Treaties, and obſerve them, tho' every other Nation ſhould diſregard them; that we ſhould ſhow an Example of Fidelity to Mankind, and ſtand firm, though we ſhould ſtand alone, in the Practice of Virtue, I ſhall readily allow; and therefore I am far from adviſing, that we ſhould recede from our Stipulations, whatever we may ſuffer by performing them, or neglect the Support of the Pragmatick Sanction, however we may be at preſent embarraſſed, or however inconvenient it may be to aſſert it.

'But ſurely for the ſame Reaſon that we obſerve our own Stipulations, we ought to incite other Powers likewiſe to the Obſervation of theirs; at leaſt not contribute to hinder it. But how is our preſent Conduct agreeable to theſe Principles? The Pragmatick Sanction was confirmed not only by the King of *Great Britain*, but by the Elector likewiſe of *Hanover*, who is therefore equally obliged, if Treaties conſtitute Obligation, to defend the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the Attacks of any foreign Power, and to ſend in his Proportion of Troops to the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*.

'Whether theſe Troops have been ſent, thoſe whoſe Provinces oblige them to ſome Knowledge of foreign Affairs can inform the Houſe with more Certainty than I; but ſince we have not heard them mentioned in this Debate, and have found by Experience that none of the Merits of that Electorate are paſſed over in Silence, it may, I think, fairly be concluded, that the Diſtreſſes of the illuſtrious Queen of *Hungary* have yet received no Alleviation from her Alliance with *Hanover*, that her Complaints have moved no Compaſſion at that Court, nor the Juſtice of her Cauſe obtain'd any Regard.

'To what can we impute this Negligence of Treaties, this Diſregard of Juſtice, this Defect of Compaſſion, but to the pernicious Counſels of thoſe Men who have adviſed his Majeſty to hire to *Great Britain* thoſe Troops which he ſhould have employed in the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*; for 'tis not to be imagined that his Majeſty has more or leſs Regard to Juſtice as King of *Great Britain* than as Elector of *Hanover*, or that he would not have ſent his Proportion of Troops to the *Auſtrian* Army, had not the Temptations of greater Profit been induſtriouſly laid before him.

'But this is not all that may be urged againſt this Conduct: For can we imagine, that the Power of *France* is leſs,

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or that her Deſigns are leſs formidable to *Hanover* than to *Great Britain*; nor is it leſs neceſſary for the Security of *Hanover*, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in its former Grandeur, and enabled to ſupport the Liberties of *Europe* againſt the bold Attempts for univerſal Monarchy?

'If therefore our Aſſiſtance be an Act of Honeſty, and granted in Conſequence of Treaties, why may it not equally be required of *Hanover?* and if it be an Act of Generoſity, why ſhould this Nation alone be obliged to ſacrifice her own Intereſt to that of others? Or why ſhould the Elector of *Hanover* exert his Liberality at the Expence of *Great Britain?*

'It is now too apparent, that this great, this powerful, this formidable Kingdom, is conſidered only as a Province to a deſpicable Electorate; and that in Conſequence of a Scheme formed long ago, and invariably purſued, theſe Troops are hired only to drain this unhappy Nation of its Money. That they have hitherto been of no Uſe to *Great Britain*, or to *Auſtria*, is evident beyond Controverſy; and therefore it is plain, that they are retained only for the Purpoſes of *Hanover*.

'How much Reaſon the Tranſactions of almoſt every Year have given for ſuſpecting this ridiculous, ungrateful, and perfidious Partiality, it is not neceſſary to mention. I doubt not but moſt of thoſe who ſit in this Houſe can recollect a great Number of Inſtances, from the Purchaſe of Part of the *Swediſh* Dominions to the Contract which we are now called upon to ratify. I hope few have forgotten the memorable Stipulation for the *Heſſian* Troops; for the Forces of the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*, which we were ſcarcely to march beyond the Verge of their own Country; or the ever memorable Treaty of which the Tendency is diſcovered in the Name. * The Treaty by which we diſunited ourſelves from *Auſtria*, deſtroyed that Building which we may perhaps now endeavour, without Succeſs, to raiſe again, and weakened the only Power which it was our Intereſt to ſtrengthen.

'To dwell upon all the Inſtances of Partiality which have been ſhewn; to remark the yearly Viſits that have been made to that delightful Country; to reckon up all the Sums that have been ſpent to aggrandiſe and enrich it, would be at once invidious and tireſome; tireſome to thoſe who are afraid to hear the Truth, and to thoſe who are unwilling to mention Facts diſhonourable or injurious to their Country. Nor ſhall

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* In the Debate upon the Hanover Treaty, [Anno 1725 p. 360,] It was alledg'd by Mr Horatio Walpole, 'That the Treaty between the 'Emperor and the King of Spain, might probably be Cemented by a 'Match between the eldeſt Daughter of the former (Now Queen of 'Hungary) and the Infant Don Carlos.

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I dwell any longer on this unpleaſing Subject, than to expreſs my Hopes, that we ſhall no more ſuffer ourſelves to be deceived and oppreſſed; that we ſhall at length perform the Duty of the Repreſentatives of the People; and by refuſing to ratify this Contract, ſhow, that, however the Intereſt of *Hanover* has been preferred by the Miniſters, the Parliament pays no Regard but to that of *Great Britain*.

Mr H. Walpole.

Hereupon Mr *Horatio Walpole* roſe up, and ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'Though I have long conſidered the mercenary Scriblers of Diſſaffection as the Diſgrace of the Kingdom and the Peſt of Society, yet I was never before ſo fully ſenſible of their pernicious Influence.

'I have hitherto imagined, that the Weekly Journaliſts and the Occaſional Pamphleteers were the Oracles only of the loweſt of the People, and that all thoſe whom their Birth or Fortune has exalted above the Crowd, and introduc'd to a more extenſive Converſation, had conſidered them as Wretches compelled to write by Want, and obliged therefore to write what will moſt engage Attention by flattering the Envy or the Malignity of Mankind; and who therefore propagate Falſhoods themſelves, not becauſe they believe them, and who ſpread Faction, not becauſe they are of any Party, but to gratify thoſe that employ them, or to amuſe the Publick with Novelties, or diſturb it with Alarms, that their Works may not paſs unregarded, and their Labour be ſpent in vain.

'This is my Opinion of the Party-Writers, and this I imagined the Opinion of the reſt of Mankind, who had the ſame Opportunities of Information with myſelf; nor ſhould I readily have believed, that any of their Performances could have produced greater Effects than thoſe of inflaming the loweſt Claſſes of the People, had I not perceived, that the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, owed his Opinions of the Partiality ſhewn to the Dominions of *Hanover*, to ſome late Pamphlets which have, on Occaſion of this Contract, been very induſtriouſly diſperſed among the People.

'I know not the Authors, nor think they deſerve that any Inquiry ſhould be made after them, except by a Proclamation that may ſet a Price upon their Heads, and offer the ſame Reward for diſcovering them as is given for the Conviction of Wretches leſs criminal; nor can I think the Lenity of the Government eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from Supineneſs and Negligence, while Libels like theſe are diſperſed openly in the Streets, and ſold in Shops without Fear and without Danger

Danger; while Sedition is profeſſedly promoted, and Treaſon, or Sentiments very nearly bordering upon Treaſon, propagated without Diſguiſe.

'Theſe Scriblers have endeavoured to corrupt the Principles of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, not only by vilifying the Memory of the late Emperor, whoſe Juſtice, Humanity, and Integrity are generally reverenced, but by inſinuating * likewiſe that our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign has adopted the ſame Schemes, and endeavours to aggrandiſe *Hanover* at the Expence of *Great Britain*; that all the Meaſures that have been taken with Regard to the Affairs of the Continent, have been contrived with no other View than that of advancing the Intereſt, enlarging the Bounds, and encreaſing the Riches of the *Hanoverian* Territories: They declare that

* *The Caſe of the Hanover Forces.* —— *The Vindication of the Caſe of the Hanover Forces.* —— *The Intereſt of Hanover ſteadily purſued ſince the Acceſſion*, and Others, in which the Authors aſſerted, 'That the Intereſts 'of Great Britain had been ſteered, ever ſince the Acceſſion of the late 'King, by the Rudder of Hanover. —— That the Intereſts of Great 'Britain had been conſtantly and manifeſtly ſacrificed, for many Years, 'to that of the Electorate. —— That the Intereſts of Hanover had been 'the Touchſtone of all our Meaſures ſince the Acceſſion. —— That 'Great Britain had been hitherto ſtrong and vigorous enough to bear up 'Hanover on its Shoulders, and though now waſted and wearied out with 'the continued Fatigue, ſhe was ſtill goaded on, as if already ſold to 'Vaſſallage, and by Compulſion obliged to perſiſt in the ungrateful Drudgery, without Hope of, or Title to, Redemption; and forced to ſubmit to the Ignominy of becoming only a Money-Province to that Electorate. —— That nobody could, or did indeed wonder at the Affection 'his late Majeſty expreſſed for his native Country, and nobody blames 'the Tenderneſs of his preſent Majeſty which he preſerves for it: Both 'of them had their Beings and their firſt Impreſſions in it. That it is 'not ſurpriſing, that the Succeſſor ſhould have ſome Predilection for the 'Meridian in which he was born and educated, but it is a terrible Doctrine, that of being a pecuniary Province to a little State upon the 'Continent, deſtined only to bolſter up its Pride, ſupply its Indigence, 'and gratify its frivolous Ambition; to laviſh away, upon a puny hopeleſs ſtunted Child, the Nouriſhment neceſſary to ſupport the healthy 'and thriving one. —— That being exhauſted and beggared, as we are already, a ſervile Submiſſion, and the breaking and taming of the true 'Engliſh Spirit, may poſſibly be thought the next Thing neceſſary; in 'order to which, the Intereſt and Influence of Hanover are no longer 'now to be diſguiſed or concealed, but openly avowed as the Rule of our 'Conduct, and the Spring of our Actions. — That being Lured by an 'inſatiable Thirſt of Gain, in whatever Shape; in Love with Military 'Spectacles, and to make a Soldier-like Figure in the Field, Hanover 'may proceed as far as a March, or a Counter-march; more would be too 'much. — That the King would loſe the Affections, and exhauſt the 'Strength of his Kingdoms, for the Addition of a Bailiage to the Electorate. —— That we have too much good Senſe to be ſo impoſed upon, 'too much Spirit not to reſent the very Attempt, and too much Diſcretion to beggar ourſelves for the Sake of an Infant, which has been a 'Snare and a Curſe to us from the Beginning.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

that *Great Britain* has been ſteered by the Rudder of *Hanover*, and that the Nation will ſoon be divided into two more oppoſite and irreconcileable Parties, than ever yet diſturbed the publick Peace, *Britons* and *Hanoverians*.

'That they themſelves, whoever they be, long for thoſe Times of Diviſion and Confuſion, may be eaſily believed, and the Number of thoſe who have the ſame Wiſhes with themſelves is, I fear, too great: But I believe their Hopes will not be encouraged, nor their Deſigns promoted in this Houſe, and that none of thoſe who are intruſted to repreſent their Country, will ſuffer themſelves to be miſled by ſuch wicked Inſinuations.

Mr Nugent.

Mr *Nugent*, Member for *St Mawes*, anſwer'd to the following Effect:

Sir,

'I know not for what Reaſon the honourable Gentleman has thought it convenient to retard the Deliberations of this Houſe, by expatiating upon the Falſhood and Malignity of Pamphlets, of which the Authors are unknown, of which no Man has attempted the Vindication, and which, however diligently diſperſed, or however generally credited, appear to have had no great Influence upon the Nation; nor to have produced any Effects that might give juſt Occaſion to ſo tragical an Outcry, to Cenſures as vehement and bitter, as if the Trumpet of Rebellion had been ſounded, as if half the People had taken Arms againſt their Governors, as if the Commonwealth was on the Brink of Diſſolution, and Armies were in full March againſt the Metropolis.

'Theſe Pamphlets I have read as well as other People; and though I am far from thinking, that the Cenſure of that honourable Gentleman can make a Defence neceſſary, ſince indeed he has contented himſelf with Invective inſtead of Argument, and, whatever he may diſapprove, has confuted nothing: And though I have no particular Reaſon for expoſing myſelf as a Champion for thoſe Authors, whoever they may be, yet I cannot forbear to affirm, that I have read ſome Paſſages with Conviction; and that, in my Opinion, they require a different Anſwer from thoſe which have been yet offered, and that the Impreſſions which have been made upon the People will not be effaced by Clamour and Rage, and Turbulence and Menaces, which can affect only the Perſons of the Writers, but muſt leave their Reaſons in their full Force; and, even with Regard to their Perſons, will have very little Effect; for tho' ſome Men in Power may be offended, it will not be eaſy to quote any Law that has been broken by them.

'Or

'On this Occaſion I cannot but animadvert, I hope with the ſame Pardon from the Houſe as has been obtained by the Hon. Gentleman whom I am now following, upon an Expreſſion in frequent Uſe among the Followers of a Court, whenever their Meaſures are cenſured with Spirit and with Juſtice. The Papers which they cannot confute, and which they have not yet been able to obtain the Power of ſuppreſſing, are aſſerted to border upon Treaſon; and the Authors are threatned with Puniſhments, when they have nothing to fear from a Reply. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Treaſon is happily defined by our Laws, and therefore every Man may know when he is about to commit it, and avoid the Danger of Puniſhment by avoiding the Act which will expoſe him to it; but, with regard to the Borders of Treaſon, I believe no Man will yet pretend to ſay how far they extend, or how ſoon, or with how little Intention he may tread upon them. Unhappy would be the Man who ſhould be puniſhed for bordering upon Guilt, of which thoſe fatal Borders are to be dilated at Pleaſure by his Judges. The Law has hitherto ſuppoſed every Man, who is not guilty, to be innocent, but now we find that there is a Kind of Medium in which a Man may be in Danger without Guilt, and that in order to Security a new Degree of Caution is become neceſſary; for not only Crimes but the Borders of Crimes are to be avoided.

'What Improvements may be made upon this new Syſtem, how far the Borders of Treaſon may reach, or what Pains and Penalties are deſigned for the Borderers, no Degree of human Sagacity can enable us to foreſee: Perhaps the Borders of Royalty may become ſacred, as well as the Borders of Treaſon criminal; and as every Placeman, Penſioner, and Miniſter may be ſaid to border upon the Court, a Kind of Sanctity may be communicated to his Character, and he that lampoons or oppoſes him may border upon Treaſon.

'To diſmiſs this Expreſſion with the Contempt which it deſerves, yet not without the Reflections which it naturally excites, I ſhall only obſerve, that all Extenſion of the Power of the Crown muſt be dangerous to us, and that whoever endeavours to find out new Modes of Guilt is to be looked on, not as a good Subject, but a bad Citizen.

'Having thus ſhewn, that the Cenſure produced againſt theſe Pamphlets is unintelligible and indeterminate, I ſhall venture to mention ſome of the Aſſertions which have heated the Gentleman into ſo much Fury. Aſſertions, which I cannot be ſuppoſed to favour ſince I wiſh they might be falſe, and which I only produce in this Place to give ſome, whom

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

their Stations make acquainted with publick Affairs, an Opportunity of confuting them.

'It is aſſerted, that the *French* appear to have treated all our Armaments with Contempt, and to have purſued all their Schemes with the ſame Confidence as if they had no other Enemy to fear than the Forces of *Auſtria*; this is indeed no pleaſing Obſervation, nor can it be ſuppoſed to give Satisfaction to any *Briton* to find the Reputation of our Councils and of our Arms ſo much diminiſhed, to find the Nation which lately gave Laws to *Europe*, ſcarcely admitted to Friendſhip, or thought worthy of Oppoſition in Enmity; to hear that thoſe Troops, which, in the Days of our former Monarchs, ſhook the Thrones of the Continent, are paſſed by, without Fear and without Regard, by Armies marching againſt their Allies, theſe Allies in whoſe Cauſe they formerly fought in the Field of *Hochſtedt*. But the Truth of the Aſſertion is too plain to all the Nations of the World, and thoſe, whoſe Intereſt it may be to conceal from their Countrymen what is known to all the Continent, may rage, indeed, and threaten, but they cannot deny it; for what Enterpriſe have we hitherto either prevented or retarded? what could we have done on one Side, or ſuffered on the other, if we had been ſtruck out from Exiſtence, which has not been ſuffered, or not done, though our Armies have been reviewed on the Continent, and, to make yet a better Show, lengthened out by a Line of Sixteen Thouſand of the Troops of *Hanover*.

'It is aſſerted in the ſame Treatiſes, that the Troops of *Hanover* cannot act againſt the Emperor, and that therefore they are an uſeleſs Burthen to the State; that they compoſe an Army of which no other Effect will be found but that they eat,— and eat at the Expence of *Great Britain*. This Aſſertion is indeed ſomewhat more conteſtible than the former, but is at leaſt credible, ſince if we may be permitted on this, as on other Occaſions, to judge of the future from the paſt, we may conclude, that thoſe who have let paſs ſuch Opportunities as their Enemies have in the Height of their Contempt and Security preſented to them, will hardly ever repair the Effects of their Conduct by their Bravery or Activity in another Campaign; but that they will take the Pay of *Great Britain*, and, while they fatten in Plenty and unaccuſtomed Affluence, look with great Tranquility upon the Diſtreſſes of *Auſtria*, and, in their Indolence of Gluttony, ſtand idle Spectators of that Deluge, by which, if it be ſuffer'd to roll on without Oppoſition, their own Halcyon Territories muſt at laſt be ſwallowed up.

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'The laſt Aſſertion which I ſhall extract from theſe formidable Pamphlets is more worthy of Attention than the former, but perhaps may be ſuſpected to border more nearly upon Treaſon: I ſhall however venture to quote, and, what is ſtill more dangerous, to defend it. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'It is propoſed that, inſtead of ſquandering in this Time of Danger the Expences of the Publick upon Troops, of which it is at beſt doubtful whether they will be of any Uſe to the Queen of *Hungary*, whether they can legally engage againſt the Emperor, and whether they would be of any great Uſe, though they were ſet free from any other Reſtraints than Regard to their own Safety: Inſtead of amuſing our Ally with an empty Show of Aſſiſtance, of mocking her Calamities with unefficacious Friendſhip, and of expoſing ourſelves to the Ridicule of our Enemies by idle Armaments without Hoſtility, by Armies only to be reviewed, and Fleets only to be victuall'd, we ſhould remit the Sums required for the Payment of the *Hanoverians*, to the Queen of *Hungary*, by whom we know that it will be applied to the great Purpoſes for which the Parliament granted it, the Eſtabliſhment of the Liberties of *Europe*, and the lowering the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

'This Propoſal, however contrary to the Opinion of the Miniſters, I take the Liberty of recommending to the Conſideration of the Houſe as, in my Opinion, the moſt effectual Method of preſerving the Remains of the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It is well known, that theſe Troops are hired at a Rate which they never expected before, that Levy-Money is paid for Forces levied before the Commencement of the Bargain, that they are paid for acting a long Time before they began to march, and that, ſince they appeared to conſider themſelves as engaged in the Quarrel, their March has been their whole Performance; a March not againſt the Enemy but from him; a March in which there was nothing to fear, nor any Thing to encounter; and therefore I think it cannot be denied, that the publick Treaſure might have been better employ'd.

'The ſame Sum remitted to the Queen of *Hungary* will enable her to hire a much greater Number of Troops out of her own Dominions; Troops of whoſe Courage ſhe can have no doubt, and whoſe Fidelity will be ſtrengthned by common Intereſt and natural Affection; Troops that will fight like Men defending their Wives and their Children, and who will therefore bear Fatigue with Patience, and face Danger with Reſolution; who will oppoſe the *French* as their natural Enemies, and think Death more eligible than Defeat.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Thus ſhall we aſſert the Rights of Mankind, and ſupport the Faith of Treaties, oppoſe the Oppreſſors of the World, and reſtore our antient Allies to their former Greatneſs, without exhauſting our own Country; for it is not impoſſible, that by the proper Uſe of this Sum the Queen may obtain ſuch Advantages in one Campaign as may incline the *French* to deſert the Emperor, and content themſelves with the peaceable Poſſeſſion of their own Territories; for it is to be remembered, that they are now fighting only for a remote Intereſt, and that they will not hazard much; a firm Reſiſtance will eaſily incline them to wait for ſome more favourable Opportunity, and there will then be Leiſure for forming our Meaſures, in ſuch a Manner, that another Opportunity may never be offered them.

'But of the preſent Scheme what Effect can be expected but Ignominy and Shame, Diſgrace Abroad and Beggary at Home? To this Expence what Limits can be ſet? When is there to be an End of paying Troops who are not to march againſt our Enemies? As they will at all Times be of equal Uſe, there will be at all Times the ſame Reaſon for employing them, nor can there ever be imagined leſs Need of idle Troops than in a Time of War.

'I am therefore afraid, that in a ſhort Time the *Hanoverians* may conſider *Great Britain* as a Tributary Province, upon which they have a Right to impoſe the Maintenance of Sixteen Thouſand Men, who are to be employed only for the Defence of their own Country, though ſupported at the Expence of this. I am afraid, that we ſhall be taught to imagine, that the Appearance of the *Hanoverians* is neceſſary in our own Country, perhaps to check the Inſolence of the Sons of Freedom, who without Fear border upon Treaſon. I am afraid, that his Majeſty or his Succeſſor may be adviſed by Sycophants and Slaves to truſt the Guard of his Perſon to the truſty *Hanoverians*, and adviſed to place no Confidence in the Natives of *Great Britain*.

'For my Part, I think it a very wiſe Precept by which we are directed to obviate Evils in the Beginning; and therefore ſince, in my Opinion, the Influence of *Hanover* muſt be deſtructive to the Royal Family, and detrimental to theſe Kingdoms, I ſhall endeavour to obviate it, by voting againſt any Proviſion for theſe uſeleſs Mercenaries, and declaring that I ſhall more willingly grant the publick Money to any Troops than to thoſe of *Hanover*.

Lord Perceval.

Lord *Perceval* then ſpoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'I look upon the Queſtion now under your Conſideration, to

to vary very little in Reality from that which was debated here the firſt Day of this Seſſion. The principal Point in the Debate of that Day was the ſame with that which is more regularly the Debate of this, Whether the *Hanoverian* Forces ſhould be taken into *Britiſh* Pay? An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Sir, I ſhould then have offered my Sentiments upon this Queſtion, if ſo many other Gentlemen had not delivered my Senſe in ſo much better Manner than I thought myſelf able to do, that it would have appeared a great Preſumption in me, and would have given the Houſe an unneceſſary Trouble. ——— The ſame Reaſon had induced me to have been ſilent alſo upon this Occaſion,—if the Temper of the Times, the little Indulgence ſhewn by Gentlemen to one another, when they happen to differ in political Opinions, and the popular Circumſtance * in which I ſtand, did not in ſome Sort oblige me to protect the Vote I then gave, and that which I now intend to give by the Reaſons that induce me to give it.

'Sir, there are three principal Conſiderations in this Queſtion; firſt, Whether we are to aſſiſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and Balance of Power at all, Ay or No? Then whether we ought to do it with our whole Force? And laſtly, whether the *Hanoverian* Troops ſhould be made a Part of that Force.

'As to the firſt Conſideration, a new Doctrine has been taught and inculcated for ſome Months paſt, that it is of no Importance to this Nation what may happen on the Continent; that this Country being an Iſland intrenched within its own natural Boundaries, it may ſtand ſecure and unconcerned in all the Storms of the reſt of the World. This Doctrine, inconſiſtent as it is with all Senſe and Reaſon, contrary as it is to the univerſal Principles of Policy by which this Nation hath been governed from the Conqueſt to this Hour, is yet openly profeſſed and avowed by many without theſe Walls; and tho' no Man has yet ventured to own this Opinion publickly and directly in this Houſe, yet ſome Gentlemen even here, in Effect, maintain it, when they argue, that in no Caſe this Nation ought to aſſiſt to ſupport the Balance of Power without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*. This tends inevitably to produce the ſame fatal Effect; it reduces this Country to depend upon *Holland*, to be a Province to *Holland*; and *France* would then have no more to do to become Miſtreſs of all *Europe*, than to gain over one ſingle Town of the United Provinces, or to corrupt a few Members of the States: It is therefore a Doctrine of the greateſt Danger. The only ſolid Maxim is, that whoever becomes

* See before P. 30.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Maſter of the Continent, muſt in the End obtain the Dominion of the Sea. To confirm this, I may venture to cite an old Example, nor can I be accuſed of Pedantry in doing of it, ſince it is an Inſtance drawn from the laſt univerſal Monarchy to which the World ſubmitted. The *Romans* had no ſooner divided, broken, and ſubdued thoſe Powers upon the Continent of *Europe*, who had given a Diverſion in the great Attempt they had long intended, than they attacked the *Carthaginians*, a Maritime Power, potent in Arms, immenſely opulent, poſſeſſed of the Trade of the whole World, and unrivall'd Miſtreſs of the Sea. Yet theſe People, who enjoyed no Wealth, purſued no Commerce, and at the Commencement of their Quarrel were not Maſters of a ſingle Ship, at length prevailed againſt this Enemy upon their proper Element, beat and deſtroyed their Fleets, invaded their Dominions and ſubdued their Empire. From whence, Sir, I muſt conclude that we cannot wholly rely upon our Situation, or depend ſolely on our Naval Power; and I may venture to Reaſon upon this Axiom, that this Nation muſt contribute to ſupport the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Balance of Power in ſome Degree.

'The next Queſtion that occurs is, in what Degree we ought to do it? and whether we ſhould do it with our whole Force? Taking, therefore, our Footing here upon this Axiom, that we muſt contribute to it in ſome Degree, and taking farther to our Aid the Reaſoning of thoſe Gentlemen who think it a Work of ſuch extreme Danger and almoſt deſperate, the natural and evident Concluſion can be only this, that if we do it, ſo we muſt do it, with the utmoſt Vigour, and with our whole Force.

'We come now to conſider, whether the *Hanoverian* Troops ſhould be made Part of that Force? There are ſeveral Conſiderations previous to the Deciſion of this Queſtion. Firſt, whether they are as cheap as any other Forces we can hire? Then whether they are as Good? Next whether they are as properly ſituated? And whether they are as much to be depended upon? If as to every one of theſe Particulars the Anſwer muſt be made in the Affirmative, I think it will go very far to determine the Queſtion now before you.

'As to the firſt, that they are as cheap, nay, upon the whole much cheaper, the Eſtimates now upon your Table, notwithſtanding any Cavil, do ſufficiently demonſtrate.

'That they are as good, what Man can doubt, who knows the Character of the *German* Nation? What Man can doubt, who knows the Attention of his Majeſty to Military Diſcipline? Thoſe Gentlemen can leaſt pretend to doubt it,

it, who ſometimes do not ſpare Reflections upon that Attention which they inſinuate to be too great.

'That theſe Troops are not properly ſituated, will be hardly aſſerted at this Time, when they are actually now in *Flanders*, and now acting in Conjunction with our Troops. Let any Man conſider the Map of *Europe*, let him obſerve the Seat of the War, and he muſt evidently ſee, that whether their Service may be required in *Flanders*, whether upon the *Rhine*, or in the Heart of *Germany*, in every one of theſe Caſes, the *Hanoverian* Forces are as properly circumſtanced and ſituated as any Troops in *Europe*.

'It remains in the laſt Place to examine, Whether any other Troops can be better depended upon? And ſure nothing can be more obvious than that we may rely with more Security on theſe than any other. They are Subjects of the ſame Prince, and of a Prince indulgent to all his Subjects, and accuſed by thoſe who differ in other Points from me, of being partial againſt the Intereſt of his *German* Dominions. Unleſs, therefore, we arraign the firſt Principle upon which a free Government can be ſupported, and without which every Exerciſe of Arbitrary Power would be warranted, we muſt allow that ſuch a People will be faithful to ſuch a Prince; will defend him with a ſtrict Fidelity, and ſupport his Quarrel with the utmoſt Zeal; with a Zeal which can never be expected from the mercenary Troops of any other Foreign Power.

'This naturally leads us to inquire what other Troops we can depend upon; the Anſwer to this Inquiry is ſhort and poſitive; that as Affairs now ſtand Abroad, we can depend upon none but theſe; let us carry this Conſideration with us in a Survey of all *Europe*. —— Shall we take into our Pay 16,000 of the *Dutch*? Would this be the Means of bringing *Holland* into Alliance with us? Would they act at their own Expence, would they exert their own proper Force? Would they pay their own Troops in Aid of the Common Cauſe, when they found this Nation ready to do it for them? They would act like Madmen if they did. Shall we hire *Danes*? Is there a Gentleman in this Houſe, who is not convinced that this Power has been warped, for ſometime paſt, towards the Intereſt of *France*? When we hired theſe Troops in the laſt Inſtance, did they not deceive us? Did they not even refuſe to march? Nay farther, are they not in all Appearance now upon the Point of being employed in a Quarrel of their own? a Quarrel in which they will have need of all their Force. Shall we then hire *Saxons*? An Honourable Gentleman ſeemed to think that there may be ſome Poſſibility of this,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

this, and perhaps there may hereafter, when the King of *Pruſſia*'s Views are known and the Part he ſhall reſolve to act; but *Saxony* is certainly now too much expoſed to, and cannot fail to be alarmed at, his growing Power, at the great Augmentation of his Armies, and the ſecret and vaſt Deſigns which he ſeems to meditate. This Meaſure, therefore, is not practicable in the preſent Conjuncture; that Electorate cannot hazard its own Security in theſe precarious Circumſtances, by lending out ſo great a Body of its Troops. Would Gentlemen adviſe the Hire of *Pruſſian* Troops to ſerve us in this Conjuncture? They who do adviſe it muſt forget ſtrangely the Part ſo lately acted by that Prince, and the Variety of his Conduct with regard to his different Allies within the Space of the two laſt Years. I ſhall guard myſelf in my Expreſſions, and maintain a proper Reſpect in diſcourſing of ſo great a Character; but I muſt ſay thus much, that the Miniſtry would act with great Imprudence, to put the Safety of the *Britiſh* Troops, and to riſque the Fate of this Army, upon the Event of ſuch a Meaſure. I need not ſay more; for it is not yet proved to us, that this Prince would (I wiſh there was no Reaſon to believe he would not) lend us this Body of his Men, though we ſhould be diſpoſed to take them into Pay. The *Swiſs* Cantons, therefore, now alone remain; and indeed from them we probably might procure a greater Number; but I leave it to the Judgment of any Man of Senſe and Candour, whether any Miniſter of this Nation could warrant the Employment of 16,000 *Swiſs* in this Service? For when we reflect upon the Situation of theſe Provinces, and compare it with that of our *Britiſh* Troops who are now in *Flanders*, it is viſible that they muſt paſs 400 Miles upon the Borders of the *Rhine*, flanked by the ſtrong Places of *France*, during their whole March, expoſed to the Garriſons and Armies upon that Frontier by whom it can never be ſuppoſed that they would be ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted, when *France* muſt ſo well know the Intention of their March to be for no other End, but to make a Conjunction with other Troops in the *Britiſh* Pay, in order afterwards to invade, or at leaſt to interrupt the Views of that Kingdom with their united Force.

'These Reaſons, Sir, prove invincibly to me, that if we are to aſſiſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* by an Army, we muſt of Prudence, nay of Neceſſity, in Part, compoſe that Army of the *Hanoverian* Troops.

'But yet there is another State of this Queſtion; an Alternative of which ſome Gentlemen ſeem very fond; Whether it would not be better to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary* with Money only? 'This

In Page 167, Line 17, read, and never accus'd.

'This Opinion at first Sight is extremely plausible; if the Queen of *Hungary* has been able to do so much with an Aid of 500,000 *l.* what might she not be able to do with a Million more? Sir, a Million more would by no Means answer in the same Proportion. When a Sum is given her which with the best Oeconomy can suffice barely to put her Troops in Motion, when the Enemy is at her very Gates, her All at an immediate Stake, there can be no Room for a Misapplication of it: But a Sum so immense as that of a Million and a Half, would dazzle the Eyes of a Court so little used to see such Sums, and as an Hon. Gentleman long versed in Foreign Affairs *, and well acquainted with these Matters, told you in a former Debate, would be much of it squandered among the *Austrian* Ministers and Favourites. I make no Scruple to add to this, that some small Part might fall to the Share of Ministers elsewhere. But there is another Danger which Gentlemen who contend for this Measure do not consider. Can they who profess a Distrust of all Ministers, and particularly those who are now employed at home; they who have ever argued against all Votes of Credit upon this Principle, that it affords an Opportunity to Ministers of defrauding the Service, and of putting large Sums into the Purse of the Crown, or into their private Pockets? Can they now argue for this Measure, which I may be bold to say, would be in Effect the most enormous Vote of Credit that was ever given in the World? Gentlemen insinuate, that the taking the *Hanoverian* Forces into *British* Pay, is a criminal Complaisance, calculated only to confirm an Infant and a tottering Administration. But how much greater Means for such a Purpose would an Alternative like this afford? Suppose a Minister unfirm in his new acquired Power, to ingratiate himself with his Prince, should propose a Scheme to repleniſh the Coffers of an exhausted Civil List squandered in such vile Purposes, that no Man could have the Hardiness to come to Parliament, or dare to hope a Supply for it by any regular Application to this House? What Method could be devised by such a Minister himself, to do the Jobb more effectually than this? for who can doubt that (guard it how you will) the Queen of *Hungary* might be induced, in the Condition in which she now stands, to accept a Million, and to give a Receipt in full for the whole Sum? How could you prevent an Understanding of this Kind between two Courts? And how easy, therefore, might it be to sink 500,000 *l.* out of so vast a Grant? Sir, I will suspect no Minister; but I will trust none in this Degree; and I wonder

An. 16. Geo. II. 1743.

* Mr Horatio Walpole, sen.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

der other Gentlemen do not ſuſpect, if I do not. From hence therefore, I conſider this as a Propoſition both fallacious and unſafe; for though it be a Fact, that the ſame Sum of Money might maintain in *Auſtria* double the Number of Troops; yet, if no more than half that Money ſhould be apply'd (as I have ſhewn great Reaſon to believe that it would not) to the Uſes of the War, it is evident, that you would deceive yourſelves, and would have but an equal Number of raw, irregular, undiſciplined, and much worſe Troops for it.

'But, Sir, there is yet a ſtronger Argument againſt the Supply in Money only. What are our Views in ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary?* Our Views are general and particular; General, to ſave the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to preſerve a Balance of Power: Particular, to prevent the *French* from making any farther Acquiſitions on this Side of *Flanders*. The firſt might poſſibly be anſwered in a good Degree, by giving that Princeſs an Equivalent in Money; but the ſecond cannot be ſecurely provided againſt, without an Army on this Side of *Europe* in the *Britiſh* Pay. Sir, is it not natural for every one of us to guard our vital Parts, rather than our more remote Members? Would not the Queen of *Hungary* (ſtipulate and condition with her as you pleaſe) apply the greateſt Part of theſe Subſidies in Defence of her Dominions in the Heart of *Germany?* Might it not even induce her to enlarge her Views, and to think of Conqueſts, and Equivalents for what ſhe has already loſt, which it might be vain and ruinous for us to ſupport her in? Would ſhe not leave *Flanders* to ſhift for itſelf, or ſtill to be taken Care of by *Great Britain* and the *Dutch?* In ſuch a Caſe, if *France* ſhould find it no longer poſſible to make any Impreſſion on her Territories, on the *German* Side, what muſt we expect to be the Conſequence? I think it very viſible ſhe would on a ſudden quit her expenſive and deſtructive Projects on that Quarter, and there only carry on a defenſive War, while ſhe fell with the greater Part of her Force at once upon the Low Countries, which would by this Meaſure be wholly unprovided; and ſhe might there acquire in one Campaign, before any Poſſibility of making Head againſt her, (which the *Dutch* would hardly attempt, and could certainly not alone be able to effect) all that ſhe has been endeavouring for the laſt Century to obtain, and what no Union of Powers could be ever capable of regaining from her. All this will be effectually prevented by an Army paid by us on this Side of *Europe*; an Army, ready to march to the Borders of her Country, and to intercept her Succours

Succours and Supplies for the *German* War; an Army, ready to protect the petty States, whose Interest and Inclination it apparently must be to declare for us, and to join their Forces with us, when they no longer fear the Power of *France*; an Army, which may possibly give Courage and Spirit to greater Powers, who may still doubt, without these vigorous Measures, (after what they have formerly experienced) whether they could even yet depend upon us; an Army (if the Posture of Affairs should make it necessary) able to cause a powerful Diversion to the *French* Forces, by an Attack upon *Lorrain* and *Champaign*, and still within Distance to return upon its Stops in Time, to prevent the *French* from carrying any Point of Consequence in *Flanders*, should they then attempt it. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'One Argument more, I beg Leave to mention, and it is of great Weight. Admit that the Sums raised upon the Subject, might be greater in the one Case than the other; the Sums remitted out of the Kingdom would be infinitely less. Whatever is remitted to the Queen of *Hungary*, is bury'd in the remotest Parts of *Germany*, and can never return to us; whereas in a War carry'd on by Troops in our own Pay on this Side, by much the greater Part of the Expence returns to us again; in Part by the Pay of Officers, by the Supply of Provisions and Necessaries in a Country exhausted by Armies, Ammunition, Ordnance, Horses, Clothing, Accoutrements, and a Multitude of other Articles, which I need not enumerate, because Experience, which is the soundest Reasoner, fully proved it in the Example of the last War; at the Conclusion of which, notwithstanding the prodigious Sums expended in it, this Nation felt no sensible Effect from a Diminution of its Current Specie.

'Sir, I was prepared to have spoken much more largely to this Subject, but my Discourse has already been drawn to a greater Length than I imagined, in treating upon the Argument thus far. I shall therefore avoid troubling you any farther upon it at this Time; I shall only observe, that in my humble Opinion, it is sufficiently proved, first, that we must assist the House of *Austria*, and that we must do it with all our Force; next, that we cannot do it with Money only, but in Part with a Land Army, and that this Land Army cannot be conveniently (I may say possibly) composed at this Time, without the *Hanoverian* Troops. This Question therefore, can, I think, be no longer debated, but upon the Foot of popular Prejudices, and Insinuations of an improper Connexion of *Hanoverian* and *British* Interests; but as I could not enter into this Subject, without Concern

and

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

and Indignation, and as it is a very delicate Point for me in particular to debate upon, I ſhall leave this Part of the Queſtion to other Gentlemen, who can engage in it both with leſs Inconvenience and with more Ability than it is poſſible for me to do.

Lord Strange.

Then Lord *Strange* ſtood up and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

'In all Affairs of a political Nature, the Vulgar without Doors are very much ſwayed in their Opinion by thoſe Sounds they have been long accuſtomed to, or thoſe Maxims they have long adopted. Without conſidering the Difference of Times, or the Difference of Circumſtances, they are governed by a favourite Sound, even after it becomes nothing but a Sound; or by a Maxim which when firſt adopted was right, but by a Change of Circumſtances has become uſeleſs or perhaps pernicious. This is at preſent the Caſe as to the People without Doors, and from the Courſe of the Argument in this Debate, it ſeems to be the Caſe with too many even in this Houſe. Whilſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* was poſſeſſed, and likely to remain poſſeſſed of the Imperial Diadem, the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, were ſynonymous Terms, and for almoſt a Century paſt they have been rightly conſidered as ſuch. But from the Moment the Elector of *Bavaria* was choſen Emperor, thoſe two Terms became diſtinct, and the Balance of Power in *Europe* had no more to do with the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than it had with the Power of any other Sovereign Houſe in *Germany*.

'As *France* is ſtill the moſt formidable Power in *Europe*, it is ſtill the Buſineſs of our Politicians to find out ſuch a Balance for the Power of *France*, as will at all Times be ready to oppoſe the ambitious Views of that Nation; and I ſhall readily grant, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would be the moſt proper Power in *Europe* for us to fix our Eyes upon for this Purpoſe, if it were poſſible for us to reſtore that Houſe to the Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Diadem, and of all thoſe Dominions which it has loſt within this laſt Dozen of Years. But is this poſſible, Sir? From the preſent Appearance of Things it is evident, that it is not. What then are we going to do? We are going to put ourſelves to a vaſt Expence, and to engage perhaps in a War, in which neither the Intereſt of this Nation, nor the Preſervation of the Balance of Power in *Europe*, has the leaſt Concern; for as long as the Houſe of *Auſtria* cannot be ſet up as a Balance for the Power of *France*, and as long as the latter acquires

N. B. In ſome few Copies of the foregoing Page, Line 12, read Steps; and in Line 25, after Armies, add, by Arms,

quires no Addition of Power, what ſignifies it to this Nation, whether the Houſe of *Auſtria* or the Houſe of *Bavaria* becomes the moſt powerful Houſe in *Germany?* The latter has already got Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Dignity, by the Aſſiſtance of *France*, and the late bad Conduct of this Nation: Suppoſe it ſhould by the ſame Aſſiſtance get Poſſeſſion of ſome of the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are we to ſuppoſe, that the Houſe of *Bavaria* will therefore conſent to be the humble Slave of *France*, or that it will co-operate with the *French* King in eſtabliſhing his arbitary Power over *Germany*, as well as the reſt of *Europe*? No, Sir: If the Houſe of *Bavaria* were once eſtabliſhed in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Dignity, and of ſome Part of the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Princes or Emperors of the Houſe of *Bavaria* would be as ready to oppoſe the ambitious Schemes of *France* as ever the Houſe of *Auſtria* was; and the ſooner that Houſe is eſtabliſhed in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Dignity, the greater Part it acquires of the *Auſtrian* Dominions, the more ready, and the more able will it be to oppoſe any of the future ambitious Schemes of *France*; ſo that as Affairs now ſtand, I do not know but that by ſupporting, or even aſſiſting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, we may be deſtroying the Balance of Power inſtead of reſtoring it, unleſs we could propoſe to diveſt the preſent Emperor of the Imperial Dignity to reſtore it to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to take from *France*, and give to that Houſe, an Equivalent for what it has yielded to *Pruſſia*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Can we propoſe to do this, Sir, without any Aſſiſtance either from the *Dutch*, or from any of the Princes of *Germany?* Surely, no ſuch Thought can enter into the Head of the boldeſt Miniſter we have amongſt us; and therefore the firſt Queſtion ſtated by a noble Lord in this Debate, is not quite ſo clear as he imagines it is. But the noble Lord, in this Queſtion, as well as the next, confounds himſelf by connecting the Houſe of *Auſtria* with the Balance of Power, whereas there is really now no more Connection between the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Balance of Power, than there is between the Houſe of *Bavaria* and the Balance of Power. Nay, if the latter were once fully eſtabliſhed, and likely to continue in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Imperial Diadem, there would then be a greater Connection between the Balance of Power and the Power of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, than between the Balance of Power and the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, or any other Sovereign Houſe in *Germany*. The other Princes of *Germany* may ſometimes be induced

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

induced from particular Views of their own, to favour the ambitious Views of *France*, but whatever Prince is at the Head of the Empire, he will always look upon himſelf as the Rival of *France*, and will conſequently be ready to join in defeating any ambitious Deſign that may hereafter be formed by that powerful Nation.

'From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will not be thought, that I was at firſt againſt aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, or that I ſhould now be againſt aſſiſting her *totis Viribus*, if the *Dutch*, and ſome of the moſt powerful Princes of *Germany* would reſolve to do the ſame. In ſuch a Caſe we might propoſe to re-eſtabliſh the Balance of Power upon its ancient Foundation, by reſtoring the Imperial Dignity to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and by giving to that Houſe an Equivalent for the Dominions it has lately been oblig'd to part with. This, I ſhall grant, would be extremely deſirable, and therefore, I wiſh, we could prevail with the *Dutch* and ſome of the Princes of *Germany* to join with us in this Scheme. I have ſo good an Opinion of our Miniſters, that I am perſuaded, they have attempted it; but the very Demand now under our Conſideration is a convincing Proof, that they have not ſucceeded, and will, I am afraid, be an Obſtruction to their future Succeſs. This Demand muſt ſhew to us, Sir, and what is much worſe, to all *Europe*, that we have not ſo much as prevailed with the Electorate of *Hanover* to join with us in this Scheme; for if that Electorate had agreed to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, *totis Viribus*, it could not have deſired of us to take the greateſt Part of its Army into our Pay; and when the Electorate of *Hanover* thus openly refuſes to join with us in ſuch a Scheme, can we ſuppoſe, that any other Power in *Europe* will? I muſt therefore conclude, that as Affairs ſtand at this preſent Conjuncture, it is impoſſible for us to give the Queen of *Hungary* ſuch an Aſſiſtance as will be effectual for re-eſtabliſhing the Balance of Power upon its former Baſis, and for this Reaſon I am againſt our giving her any farther Aſſiſtance that what we are oblig'd to by Treaty; this Aſſiſtance I am indeed for giving, not becauſe I think it will any way contribute towards the Preſervation or Re-eſtabliſhment of the Balance of Power, but merely becauſe we are obliged by Treaty to give it; for I ſhall always be for a moſt religious Obſervance of Treaties, however contrary it may be to the Practice of the preſent Times.

'There is another Aſſiſtance which, I think, Sir, we ought to give, not becauſe it will be an Aſſiſtance to her, but becauſe it will bring Diſtreſs upon our own declar'd Enemies the *Spaniards*. You will readily ſuppoſe, Sir, I mean an Aſſiſtance

Aſſiſtance againſt the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. I am really ſurpriſed how we came to permit them to ſend any Troops to *Italy*: I think it is an Affair which demands a Parliamentary Inquiry as much as any Affair that ever happened to us: But whatever we may do in this reſpect, I hope, Care will be taken not to permit any ſuch Thing for the future. We may by our Squadron prevent their ſending any more Troops thither by Sea; and I hope that, by means of the Alliance we have with the King of *Sardinia*, we ſhall be able to prevent their ſending any thither by Land. As the Queen of *Spain* is, we know, very intent upon having her Son *Don Philip* ſettled in *Italy*, and her native Country freed from the Dominion of the *Germans*, this may perhaps be a better, and a ſhorter Method of obtaining Satisfaction from the *Spaniards*, than any Attack we can make upon them either in *Europe* or *America*; therefore we are not only in Honour but in Intereſt bound to prevent their making any Conqueſts in *Italy* as long as they are at War with us; and for this Reaſon I muſt think, that our allowing their Fleet and Land Forces to paſs undiſturbed to *Italy*, was one of the greateſt Indignities, as well as one of the greateſt Prejudices, this Nation ever ſuffered. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Having thus, Sir, explained what Sort of Aſſiſtance we ought to give to the Queen of *Hungary*, and for what Reaſon; I may, I think, conclude, that we ought not to aſſiſt her *totis Viribus*, unleſs the *Dutch* and ſome of the moſt potent Princes in *Germany* will agree to do the ſame, and, conſequently, the ſecond Queſtion ſtated by the noble Lord can admit of no abſolute, but a conditional Anſwer. If the other Powers, who are equally concerned with us, will join with us, his Lordſhip's Queſtion ought to be anſwered in the Affirmative: If they will not, it ought certainly to be anſwered in the Negative; and unfortunately for his Lordſhip, his third Queſtion muſt, in either of theſe Caſes, have a Negative put upon it; for if none of the other Powers of *Europe* will join with us in aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, and conſequently we are to give her no Aſſiſtance, but what we are obliged to by Treaty, we have no Occaſion for taking either *Hanoverians* or any other Troops into our Pay, becauſe it will be more convenient for us, and better, I believe, for her, to advance our Quota in Money; and if ſhe ſhould inſiſt upon our Quota in Troops, we can ſpare enough, and more than enough of our own Troops, and may, I hope, have Liberty to march them through *Hanover* for that Service.

'On the other Hand, Sir, if any of the Powers of *Europe* are to join with us in aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, *totis Viribus*,

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Viribus, the Electorate of *Hanover* will certainly be the firſt; for as his Majeſty is abſolute in his Electorate, if the Balance of Power were really in Danger, he would certainly order his Electorate to join with us *totis Viribus*, in which Caſe we could have no Occaſion for taking 16,000 *Hanoverians* into our Pay, becauſe the Electorate could, and certainly would ſend us 16,000 of thoſe Troops it maintains in Time of Peace, at its own Expence. If, indeed, upon this Occaſion, the Electorate were to ſend, at its own Expence, all the Troops it has now on Foot to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*, and to raiſe 16,000 more for the ſame Purpoſe, there might be ſome Reaſon for our taking that additional 16,000 into our Pay; but even in this Caſe it would be more prudent to take 16,000 of the Troops of any other Potentate in *Europe* into our Pay, than to deſire the Electorate of *Hanover* to raiſe 16,000 freſh Troops for our Service. This, I ſay, Sir, would be more prudent for ſeveral very ſubſtantial Reaſons: Our hiring 16,000 Troops from any other Prince in *Europe*, might be an Inducement for him to join with us in aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, or, at leaſt, it might prevent his joining with *France* againſt us; whereas, without any ſuch Conſideration, I hope, we are ſure, that the Electorate of *Hanover* will never do ſo: And laſtly, Sir, it muſt be allowed that 16,000 Veteran Troops of any other Potentate in *Europe*, would be more fit for immediate Service than 16,000 Troops newly raiſed in *Hanover*.

'Therefore, Sir, if we were to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, *totis Viribus*, and were to take 16,000 Foreign Troops into our Pay, the Troops of *Hanover* are, in my Opinion, the laſt we ſhould think of; but as the noble Lord was pleaſed, upon this his third Queſtion, to ſtate three or four previous Queſtions, I ſhall beg Leave to give every one of them a proper Anſwer, beginning with the ſecond and the laſt connected together, becauſe they are in Effect the very ſame: Whether the Troops of *Hanover* are as good, and as much to be depended on, as the Troops of any other Potentate whatſoever? As to this Queſtion, I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Veteran Troops of *Hanover* may be as good, and are as much to be depended on as the Troops of any other Potentate whatſoever; but if *Hanover* is to join *totis Viribus* in aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, all its Veteran Troops muſt be employed at its own Expence; conſequently if we take 16,000 into our Pay, freſh Troops muſt be raiſed for that Purpoſe, and, I hope, I may ſay, without any Derogation, that 16,000 *Hanoverians* newly raiſed, are not ſo good as 16,000 of the Veteran Troops of any other Potentate in *Europe*; for in the laſt War, even

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the Veteran Troops of *Hanover* were far from being reckon'd the beſt of any we had in our Service. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'The next of his Lordſhip's previous Queſtions was, Whether the Troops of *Hanover* are not as well ſituated as any other; and this, if we are to give any real Aſſiſtance to the Queen of *Hungary*, I abſolutely deny; for either *Pruſſian*, or *Saxon*, or *Swiſs* Troops, are better ſituated for marching to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*, than thoſe of *Hanover*. The *Pruſſians* and *Saxons* are upon the Confines of *Bohemia*, and might have joined the Queen of *Hungary*'s Army in two or three Days; and as to the *Swiſs*, I was ſurpriſed to hear his Lordſhip talk of marching them down the *Rhine* to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*, when every one knows, that they lie upon the Borders of her Province of *Trent*, and might eaſily march to join her Army, either in *Italy* or *Germany*, without coming near any of the ſtrong Places of *France*; ſo that to march them down the *Rhine*, would really be to march them away from, inſtead of marching them to her Aſſiſtance. But our Army in *Flanders* was, it ſeems, to be the Loadſtone which was to draw whatever Troops we hired to that Corner, where neither could be of any Uſe to the Queen of *Hungary*, without a previous Concert with the *Dutch* to attack *France* upon that Quarter. And as the *Dutch* were ſo far from being in a Concert with us for this Purpoſe, that they poſitively declared againſt it, and even threatned to declare War againſt us if we began the Attack there, I cannot yet comprehend, what was our real Motive for ſending our Troops to *Flanders*; for if we were reſolved to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, ſurely the beſt and moſt ready Way would have been to have ſent them to *Hanover*, in order to join with the Troops of that Electorate, and drive M. *Maillebois* out of *Germany*, or at leaſt prevent his marching to the Relief of *Prague*. In this Caſe indeed, the *Hanover* Troops would have been the beſt ſituated of any in *Europe* for our Purpoſe; but then they ought to have marched at the Expence of the Electorate, and not at the Expence of this Nation; for the Electorate of *Hanover* is as much obliged, both in Honour and Intereſt, to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary*, *totis Viribus*, as this Nation can be ſuppoſed to be.

'Upon this Subject his Lordſhip endeavoured to ſhew, either that we could get no other Troops to hire, beſide the *Hanoverian*, or that no other Troops were ſo proper for us. The *Dutch* we ought not to take into our Pay, he ſays, becauſe we cannot ſuppoſe the *Dutch* will pay their own Troops in Aid of the common Cauſe, when they find this Nation ready to do it for them. Sir, does not every one ſee,

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that this Objection lies equally ſtrong againſt our taking *Hanoverians* into our Pay; and I will ſay in general, that for Half a Century paſt we have given ourſelves too much Concern about preſerving the Balance of Power, and have ſhewn ourſelves too ready to take Troops into our Pay for that Purpoſe; for the Powers upon the Continent would be more careful of themſelves, and more ready to pay their own Troops in Aid of the common Cauſe, if they did not expect us to be ſuch generous Fools as to do it for them. By this Means we have already almoſt ruined ourſelves, and now we muſt, it ſeems, compleat that Ruin, by undertaking alone the Support of what ſome Gentlemen are pleaſed to call the Balance of Power, tho' it is evident, that it is not ſo, and ſtill more evident that, if it were, it would not be in our Power to ſupport it by ourſelves alone.

'As for the *Danes*, *Pruſſians*, and *Saxons*, his Lordſhip thinks, we can have none of them, even for our Money, becauſe they are either jealous of one another, or warp'd towards the Intereſt of *France*. I do not know, Sir, but it may be ſo; and if it is, I am ſure, we ought not to take any Foreign Troops into our Pay, becauſe if no Power in *Europe* will aſſiſt us, we cannot propoſe to re-eſtabliſh the Balance of Power upon its former Foundation. But if the Caſe be as his Lordſhip repreſents, we have ourſelves only to blame for it; for if we had perſuaded the Court of *Vienna* to have accepted of the Terms at firſt offered by the King of *Pruſſia*, and had thereby got him to join with us in ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, and in getting her Conſort, the Grand Duke, raiſed to the Imperial Throne, I am perſuaded, neither the *Bavarians* nor *French* would have attack'd her, nor would the *Swedes* have attack'd the *Muſcovites*; but we encouraged the Queen of *Hungary* in her Obſtinacy towards *Pruſſia*, and by the Treatment the latter met with, at the Court of *Vienna*, and eſpecially in this Houſe, we at laſt, ſore againſt his Will, drove him into the Arms of *France*, which encouraged the *French* to ſend their Troops into *Germany*; and then, in order to prevent any *Muſcovite* Troops being ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*, they prevailed with *Sweden* to declare War againſt *Muſcovy*, the Fate of which has given them a Handle to get the King of *Denmark* warp'd over to their Intereſt. Thus it may juſtly be ſaid, that all the preſent Confuſions in *Europe* are owing to the Treatment the King of *Pruſſia* met with upon his invading *Sileſia*; and as he may ſtill have a great Hand in bringing thoſe Confuſions to a happy or very unhappy Iſſue for this Nation, I was glad to hear the noble Lord maintain a proper Reſpect in diſcourſ-

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ing of ſo great a Character: I wiſh the ſame Reſpect had been maintained, when the Conduct of that Prince came firſt under Conſideration of this * Houſe; for I know of no Variety in his Conduct, except what he has been provoked to by the Conduct of thoſe he has had to deal with; and his Invaſion of *Sileſia* we had no Right to find Fault with, nor any Authority to condemn. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'I come now to his Lordſhip's firſt previous Queſtion, which was, Whether theſe *Hanoverian* Troops are as cheap to us as any other Forces we can hire? This, his Lordſhip ſays, the Eſtimates now upon our Table do ſufficiently demonſtrate. I wiſh his Lordſhip had examined the Eſtimate of the *Hanover* Troops taken into our Pay in the Year 1702, before he had determined this Queſtion in ſuch a Magiſterial Manner. If he had compared that Eſtimate with the Eſtimate now upon our Table, he would have ſeen it ſufficiently demonſtrated by Figures, that theſe *Hanover* Troops now taken into our Pay will coſt us a much larger Sum, in Proportion to their Number, than the *Hanover* Troops did in the Year 1702, or than any Foreign Troops taken into the Pay of *Great Britain* ever did. It would be too tedious to run over all the Articles of the preſent Eſtimate, but I muſt beg Leave to mention the moſt extraordinary. In 1702 the *Hanover* Troops then ſtipulated, began to be in our Pay only the 1ſt of *June*, and before the 21ſt of that Month, when the Convention for them was ſigned, ſome of them were arrived at the appointed Place of Action, as is declared in the Convention itſelf; and they were to continue no longer in our Pay, than till the firſt of *January* following. From hence we may ſee, that they were in actual Service, as well as actual Pay, for the chief Part of one whole Campaign, and that we were to give them but ſeven Months Pay for this whole Campaign, which was much more glorious for this Nation, and contributed more to the Relief of *Europe*, than the next Campaign is likely to do; and yet by the Eſtimate for the *Hanoverians* now on our Table, we are to give them no leſs than 16 Months Pay for the enſuing Campaign; for it is evident that during the laſt Campaign they neither were, nor could be of any Service to this Nation, to *Europe*, or to the Queen of *Hungary*.

'Another Article of the preſent Eſtimate is not only of an exceſſive but a new Kind: In 1702, we paid no Levy Money for the *Hanover* Troops then taken into our Pay; but by the preſent Eſtimate we are to pay no leſs a Sum

* See the Debate on Sir R. Walpole's Motion for granting 200,000 l. to the Queen of Hungary, in Vol. xii. P. 325.

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than 139,313 *l. Sterling* for Levy Money, tho' the Troops were all raiſed long before we deſir'd to take them into our Pay, and tho' no new Troops are to be raiſed in *Hanover*, inſtead of thoſe now taken into our Pay. A ſecond Article of the ſame Kind is the recruiting Money, amounting to near 20,000 *l.* which is an Article never before heard of in the hiring of any Troops, and an Article of Expence which was never allowed even to our own Army, becauſe this Service is always provided for out of the Savings that neceſſarily happen every Year by Mens dying, deſerting, or being killed. A third Article of the ſame Kind is the Pay of the Officers and Men belonging to the *Hanoverian* Train, amounting to near 13,000 *l.* which is not only new, but is an Article of Expence we might have ſaved to the Nation by ſending a ſufficient Train of our own to *Flanders*; for ſurely, a Train might have been ſent to *Flanders*, at a leſs Expence from *England* than from *Hanover*; and conſidering the vaſt Sums raiſed yearly upon this Nation for the Service of our Ordnance, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that we had not in our Stores ſufficient to ſpare for this Service. And the fourth Article of a new as well as exceſſive Nature, is the great Number of *Hanoverian* General Officers now pinn'd upon us. In the Year 1702, with the 10,000 Men then taken into our Service, we had but one Lieutenant General and one Major General; whereas with the 16,000 now taken into our Service, we have, and are to pay, one General, two Lieutenant Generals, and three Major Generals, beſides a moſt extraordinary Number of Brigadier Generals, Aid de Camps, Majors of Brigade, and other Sorts of Superior Officers.

'Before I leave this Subject, Sir, I muſt take Notice of one other Article which really ſeems to be a downright Impoſition upon this Nation. In 1702, a certain fixed Number of Guilders was to be paid, at ſtated Times at *Rotterdam*, for the *Hanover* Forces then taken into our Pay, ſo that the Nation could loſe nothing by the Exchange; but by the preſent Contract, or rather the preſent Eſtimate, for I do not know how any Contract could be made between the King of *Great Britain* and the Elector of *Hanover*, the Levy-Money, Recruiting-Money, and Pay of thoſe Troops, is to be in Pounds Sterling, at ten Guilders ten Stivers for a Pound, when every one knows the preſent Exchange is ten Guilders eighteen Stivers, ſo that this Nation loſes eight Stivers upon every Pound Sterling, which upon 657,888 *l.* the whole Sum we are to pay for the *Hanover* Troops, amounts to about 26,000 *l.* Sterling Loſs to this Nation,

Nation, and Gain to the Electorate or Elector of *Hanover*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'After these Observations upon the present Estimate, and the Convention in 1702 for the same Troops, I hope, no Man will say, that these *Hanover* Troops are now as cheap as those were which we took into our Pay in 1702; and upon comparing this Estimate with all the Treaties we ever made for Auxiliary Troops, it will appear, that these *Hanover* Troops we now take into our Pay are the dearest of any we ever did, or, I hope, will ever again take into our Pay. As these Observations, Sir, are all founded upon Figures, and upon very easy and obvious Calculations, I shall not say, it is an affected Ignorance, but I must say it is an inexcusable Neglect, that can induce any Gentleman to affirm, that these *Hanover* Troops are as cheap as any other Forces we can hire. The Contrary is so evident, that I could not imagine any of the Advocates for this Measure would be hardy enough to state the Question in such plain Terms; and supposing the Measure could in every other Respect be supported, this alone would be a sufficient Argument for my being against it. Our paying such an extravagant Price for these *Hanover* Troops will introduce a Precedent of a most pernicious Nature to this Kingdom; because every foreign Prince we may hereafter have Occasion to treat with for auxiliary Troops, will expect the same Terms we now allow to the Elector of *Hanover*, and will refuse his Troops if we refuse agreeing to his Terms. The Elector of *Hanover* may ask what he pleases for his Troops, and his *British* Ministers may have Complaisance enough to agree to all his Demands: They may even do so with an Expectation, that such extravagant Demands will not be refus'd by a *British* Parliament; but if they are there agreed to, they can be refused by no other Power or Authority; and therefore, it would be both a most criminal and a most inexcusable Complaisance in us to agree to such extravagant Demands.

'Having thus, Sir, answered all his Lordship's previous Questions, and having answer'd them in a Manner, I believe, which he little expected, the Reply which from thence naturally flows to his third principal Question, is, that suppose we are to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, and suppose we are to assist her with our whole Force, the *Hanover* Troops ought not to be made a Part of that Force, nor ought the Electorate of *Hanover* to desire any such Thing of us, because it is equally with us obliged, both in Honour and Interest, to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, and consequently ought, at its own Expence, to assist her with all

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the Troops it has in actual Pay. We ought therefore to have look'd out for the Troops of ſome other Potentate; and if we could find no ſuch Troops to hire, it was, and is ſtill an unanſwerable Argument againſt our giving her any other Aſſiſtance than what we ſtand engag'd to by Treaty; and this Aſſiſtance we might have given her in Money, which would have been more convenient for us, and better for her, than any proportionable Number of Troops we could have ſent to her Aſſiſtance.

'But as the noble Lord was pleas'd to ſtate us another Queſtion upon this Head, and thereupon endeavoured to ſhew that we ought to aſſiſt her with Troops rather than Money, I ſhall beg Leave to conſider the Arguments he made uſe of for this Purpoſe. His Lordſhip was pleaſed to ſay, upon the Authority of an Hon. Gentleman, that if we gave the Queen of *Hungary* any large Sum of Money, a great Part of it would be ſquander'd among the *Auſtrian* Miniſters and Favourites. Whatever Regard his Lordſhip may pay to the Authority he quoted, I can lay no great Streſs upon it; becauſe from the Conſequences of that Hon. Gentleman's Negotiations we have no Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that his Knowledge of Foreign Affairs is very exact or extenſive; and if he knows any Thing of Publick Money's being ſquander'd among Miniſters, I am perſuaded, he got his Knowledge of theſe Matters at home, and not abroad. I ſhall grant, that ſuch a Miſapplication of Publick Money is but too frequent at moſt Courts, and we in this Country have from Experience great Reaſon to be jealous of it; but the preſent Court of *Vienna* is as little to be ſuſpected of ſuch a Miſapplication as any Court ever was; for the Queen of *Hungary* could not have made ſuch a glorious Stand as ſhe has already done, againſt ſo many and ſuch powerful Enemies, if any of her Money had been ſquandered among Miniſters and Favourites; and for this Reaſon, if we are to raiſe a Million and a Half for her Support, I ſhould chuſe to put it under her own Management, in order to enable her to ſupport herſelf, rather than to put it under the Management of our own Miniſters, in order to enable them to ſupport her with Troops. This, I ſay, I ſhould chuſe, and I am directed to this Choice by the very Meaſure now under our Conſideration; for if ſhe had been to contract for 16,000 veteran Troops, I am ſure ſhe might, and would have got them for much leſs than we are to pay for theſe 16,000 *Hanoverians*.

'Another Objection his Lordſhip made to our aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary* with any large Sum of Money was, that it would be a Sort of Vote of Credit, and might be converted by

by our Miniſters here to very bad Purpoſes. Sir, we might eaſily prevent this by our Method of granting it; for if we order'd it to be paid directly to her Miniſter here, or to ſuch Perſons as ſhe ſhould appoint, I am perſuaded, every Shilling of it would be faithfully and ſpeedily remitted to her. Some of the little petty Princes of *Germany* may perhaps ſubmit to give a Receipt for 30,000 *l.* when they receive but 20,000 *l.* but the Queen of *Hungary* has ſhewn too much Spirit to be ſuſpected of any ſuch mean Submiſſion. If a Million and a Half were granted to her by the *Britiſh* Parliament, I am convinced ſhe would inſiſt upon every Shilling of it being paid: She would ſcorn to let any *Britiſh* Miniſter go ſhares with her in the Grant, or to give a Receipt for more than ſhe actually received.

'But, Sir, when the noble Lord ſeems to be ſo ſuſpicious of our Miniſters, and of their purloining 500,000 *l.* out of a Million and a Half, in Caſe we ſhould grant ſuch a Sum to the Queen of *Hungary*, I wonder he does not ſee, that what we are now to grant is worſe than a Vote of Credit, becauſe it is an abſolute Gift to the Crown of at leaſt 600,000 *l.* For as no new Troops are to be raiſed in *Hanover*, and as theſe 16,000 Men muſt have been paid and maintain'd by his Majeſty, tho' we had not taken them into our Pay, I am perſuaded the Difference between the Expence of maintaining them at home, and the Expence of marching them to, and maintaining them in *Flanders*, or any Part of *Germany*, will not amount to the odd 57,000 *l.* and conſequently, whatever we pay for thoſe Troops above that Expence, ought to be look'd on as a Free-Gift to his Majeſty, which his Miniſters may apply, if he pleaſes, towards repleniſhing the Coffers of an exhauſted Civil Liſt; and I wiſh no Part of it may be applied to any worſe Purpoſe: For tho' his Majeſty is not to be ſo much as ſuſpected of conſenting to any wrong Application of publick Money, yet Experience has ſhewn, that the Civil Liſt Money, or any publick Money, which is not to be ſtrictly accounted for to Parliament, may by Miniſters be applied to very vile Purpoſes without the Knowledge of their Maſter.

'I now come, Sir, to the particular View, which the noble Lord ſays, we have in ſupporting the Queen of *Hungary*, and which, he ſays, cannot be anſwered by our ſupporting her with Money only. This View, his Lordſhip tells us, is to prevent the *French* from making any further Acquiſitions in *Flanders*. How his Lordſhip's Imagination came to ſuggeſt any ſuch View to him, I cannot tell, but I am convinced, no one of our Miniſters ever had ſuch a View: They

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. They know, that the Neutrality of the *Dutch* depends upon *France*'s attempting no ſuch Thing, and therefore, there never was the leaſt Occaſion for our ſending any of our own Troops to *Flanders*, and much leſs for our ſending any Auxiliaries there, unleſs the *Dutch* had deſired it, in order to enable them to break the Neutrality they have hitherto ſo religiouſly obſerved: And if they had done this, we ſhould have had no Occaſion to ſend any of our Auxiliary Troops to *Flanders*; for with the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*, and by ſending 10 or 12000 more of our own Troops thither, which we might eaſily have ſpared, we could have formed ſuch an Army in *Flanders*, as would have been ſufficient to oppoſe any of the Deſigns of *France* in that Part of the World, eſpecially, if by ſending our Auxiliaries to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary* in *Germany*, we had enabled her to drive the *French* out of that Country, becauſe ſhe might then, and certainly would have come down upon the *Rhine*, with ſuch an Army as would have prevented the *French* from being able to puſh any Conqueſts in *Flanders*. For as *France* lies much more open upon the Side of *Germany* than upon that of *Flanders*, their own Prudence would have directed, and even Neceſſity would have drove them to have ſtood upon the Defenſive in *Flanders*, in order to have ſent their moſt powerful Armies towards the *Rhine*, becauſe, in *Flanders*, they may defend themſelves by their ſtrong Garriſons, but towards *Germany* they muſt defend themſelves by their numerous Armies.

'Thus, Sir, in every Light this Meaſure can be conſidered, it muſt appear to be wrong. As the Balance of Power, in the preſent Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, no more depends upon the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than upon the Power of any other Houſe in *Germany*, it was wrong in us to think of giving the Houſe of *Auſtria* any farther Aſſiſtance than we were obliged to by Treaty, unleſs the other Powers of *Europe*, equally concerned, had joined with us in reſtoring that Houſe to the Imperial Diadem, as well as in procuring it an Equivalent from *France* for the Dominions it has been lately diſpoſſeſſed of. If it had been right to give the Queen of *Hungary* a greater Aſſiſtance than we were obliged to by Treaty, and to take Foreign Troops into our Pay for that Purpoſe, it was wrong to take *Hanoverians*. If it had been right to take *Hanoverians*, it was wrong to take them at ſuch an extravagant Price; and if it had been right to take them at any Price, it was wrong to march them into *Flanders*, becauſe they muſt march back again to *Germany*, before they can be of any Uſe to the Queen of *Hungary*.

'But

'But really, in my Opinion, Sir, and according to the preſent Appearance of Things, I cannot believe, that either the *Hanoverians* or *Heſſians*, or even our own Troops, will march into *Germany*, or give the Queen of *Hungary* any real Aſſiſtance. Let us conſider, Sir, that both the *Hanoverians* and *Heſſians* are the Emperor's Subjects, and, conſequently, their fighting even as Auxiliaries againſt him may expoſe their Maſters to the Ban of the Empire. Nay, the Ban, I believe, would be the certain Conſequence, if we ſhould happen to be unſucceſsful in the War; therefore, tho' the Elector of *Hanover* and the Prince of *Heſſe* may allow their Troops to take our Money, I do not believe, they will allow their Troops to engage againſt the Emperor. This, Sir, is the Caſe of the *Hanoverian* and *Heſſian* Troops, and as to our own Troops, I do not think it poſſible for them to march to the farther End of *Germany*. How ſhall we ſubſiſt them upon their March thither? How ſhall we ſubſiſt them after they are there? How ſhall we recruit them? How ſhall we preſerve the Remains of our Army, in Caſe it ſhould happen to meet with a Defeat? Theſe, Sir, are Queſtions very material, and I proteſt, I do not ſee how any one of them can be anſwered. What Change may be produced in the preſent Face of Affairs by the good Conduct of the Court of *Vienna*, and the bad Conduct of the Court of *Verſailles*, I do not know, nor is it poſſible for human Wiſdom to foreſee; for the Conduct of the one may be ſo good, and that of the other ſo bad, as may give Courage, and even a probable View of Succeſs, to ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, to act againſt the Emperor they have choſen: And I am ſure, the Electorate of *Hanover* in particular has great Reaſon to reſent the ſcurrilous Treatment it has lately met with from the *French*, with regard to the Neutrality it was forced into, and eſpecially the inſulting Manner in which the *French* Miniſters openly talk'd at all the Courts of *Europe* of that Neutrality's being ſolicited, and even begged, of the *French* Court by that Electorate.

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'One cannot therefore determine what may hereafter happen, but in deciding the Queſtion now before us, we muſt conſider the preſent Poſture of Affairs only, and from thence we muſt conclude, that the *Hanoverian* Troops neither can, nor will act againſt the Emperor. I am ſure, no Man, who has any Regard for the Safety of his Majeſty's Electoral Dominions, will at preſent adviſe him to expoſe himſelf to the Ban of the Empire, by allowing his Electoral Troops to act offenſively againſt the Emperor; and if ſuch a Change ſhould hereafter happen in the Affairs of *Europe*, as to render ſuch

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ſuch a Step adviſable, it will then be Time enough for us to take thoſe *Hanoverian* Troops into our Pay. We ſhall thereby ſave the Expence of maintaining them for ſeven or eight Months, when they neither will nor can be of any Service either to us or the Queen of *Hungary*; and conſidering the preſent diſtreſſed Condition of this Nation, the heavy War we are already engaged in, and the more heavy War we are like to be engaged in, this is a Saving which, I am ſure, a true *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons will not neglect.'

Mr Grenville.

Mr *George Grenville* oppos'd the Motion to the following Effect:

Sir,

'Though I am far from thinking myſelf able to produce, without Premeditation, a complete Anſwer to the elaborate and artful Harangue which you have lately heard from a noble Member, yet as I cannot be convinced of the Reaſonableneſs of the Meaſures which have been defended with ſo much Subtilty, I ſhall at leaſt endeavour to ſhew, that my Diſapprobation is not merely the Effect of Obſtinacy, and that I have at leaſt conſidered the Propoſals of the Miniſtry, before I have ventured to condemn them.

'Whether we ought to think ourſelves indiſpenſably obliged to maintain, at all Events, the Balance of Power on the Continent; to maintain it without Allies, to maintain it againſt a Combination of almoſt all *Europe*, I ſhall not now enquire. I will ſuppoſe it for once our Duty to ſtruggle with Impoſſibility, and not only to ſupport the Houſe of *Auſtria*, when it is attacked, but to raiſe it, when it is fallen; fallen by our own Negligence, and oppreſſed with the Weight of all the ſurrounding Powers; and ſhall therefore at preſent only endeavour to find out by what Means we may afford that Aſſiſtance with moſt Benefit to our Allies, and leaſt Danger to ourſelves.

'With Regard to our Ally, that Aſſiſtance will be apparently moſt advantageous to her by which her Strength will be moſt increaſed, and therefore it may perhaps be more uſeful to her to find her Money than Troops; but if we muſt ſupply her with Troops, I doubt not but it will readily appear, that we may eaſily find Troops which may be of more Uſe and leſs Expence than thoſe of *Hanover*.

'It has been obſerved, with Regard to the convenient Situation of thoſe Troops, that it cannot now be denied; ſince they are acting in *Flanders* in Conjunction with the *Britiſh* Forces. This is an Aſſertion to which, though it was utter'd with an Air of victorious Confidence; though it was produc'd-

duc'd as an inſuperable Argument, by which all thoſe who intended Oppoſition were to be reduced to Silence and Deſpair, many Objections may be made which it will require another Harange equally elaborate to remove.

'That the Troops of *Hanover* are now acting in Conjunction with the *Britiſh*, I know not how any Man can affirm; unleſs he has received Intelligence by ſome airy Meſſengers, or has ſome ſympathetick Communication with them not indulged to the reſt of Mankind. None of the Accounts which have been brought hither of the Affairs of the Continent have yet informed us of any Action, or Tendency to Action; the *Hanoverians* have indeed been reviewed in Conjunction with our Forces, but have hitherto not Acted; nor have the Armies yet cemented the Alliance by any common Danger; or ſhewn yet that they are Friends otherwiſe than by ſleeping and eating together, at the Expence of the ſame Nation.

'Nor am I at preſent inclined to grant, that either Army is ſituated where it may be of moſt Uſe to the Queen of *Hungary*; for they now loiter in a Country which no Enemy threatens, and in which nothing therefore can be feared; a Country very remote from the Seat of War, and which will probably be laſt attacked. If the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary* had been deſigned, there appears no Reaſon why the *Hanoverians* ſhould have marched thither, or why this important Conjunction ſhould have been formed; ſince they might, in much leſs Time, and with leſs Expence, have joined the *Auſtrians*, and perhaps have enabled them to defeat the Deſigns of the *French*, and cut off the Retreat of the Army which was ſent to the Relief of *Prague*. But this March, though it would have been leſs tedious, would have been more dangerous, and would not have been very conſiſtent with the Deſigns of thoſe who are more deſirous of receiving Wages than of deſerving them; nor is it likely, that thoſe who required Levy-Money for Troops already levied, and who demanded, that they ſhould be paid a long Time before they began to march, would hurry them to Action, or endeavour to put a Period to ſo gainful a Trade as that of hiring Troops which are not to be expoſed.

'This Conduct, however viſibly abſurd, I am very far from imputing either to Cowardice or Ignorance; for there is Reaſon to ſuſpect that they marched into *Flanders*, only becauſe they could not appear in any other Place as the Allies of the Queen of *Hungary*, without expoſing their Sovereign to the Imperial Interdict.

'It is therefore not only certain, that theſe Troops, theſe boaſted

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boaſted and important Troops, have not yet been of any Uſe; but probable that no Uſe is intended for them, and that the ſole View of thoſe who have introduced them into our Service is to pay their Court by enriching *Hanover* with the Spoils of *Great Britain*.

'That this is in Reality their Intention, appears from the Eſtimates to which an Appeal has been ſo confidently made, but which, if they are compared with a Contract made for the Troops of the ſame Nation in the laſt War, will ſhew how much their Price has riſen ſince their Sovereign was exalted to this Throne; though I cannot find any Proof, that their Reputation has encreaſed, nor can diſcover from their Actions in *Flanders* any Reaſon to believe, that their Services will be greater.

'It is certain, that, whatever may be the general Character, or the late Conduct of other Nations, it is the Intereſt of *Great Britain* to employ rather any Troops than theſe, as any Evil is rather to be choſen than Animoſities between our Sovereign and our Fellow-Subjects; and ſuch Animoſities muſt inevitably ariſe from this deteſtable Preference of the Troops of *Hanover*.

Mr *Henry Fox* then ſtood up and ſpoke as follows:

Sir,

Mr H. Fox.

'I Shall not attempt to confute every Aſſertion of the hon. Gentleman which I think falſe, or detect the Fallacy of every Argument which appears to me ſophiſtical; but leave to others the Province of ſhewing the Neceſſity of engaging in the War on the Continent, of employing a large Force for the Preſervation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and of forming that Army with the utmoſt Expedition, and of taking Auxiliaries into our Pay; and confine myſelf to this ſingle Queſtion, whether, ſuppoſing Auxiliaries neceſſary, it was not prudent to hire the Troops of *Hanover*?

'Nothing can be, in my Opinion, more apparent than that if the Neceſſity of hiring Troops be allowed, which ſurely cannot be queſtioned, the Troops of *Hanover* are to be choſen before any other, and that the Miniſtry conſulted in their Reſolutions the real Intereſt of their Country, as well as that of our Ally.

'The great Argument which has in all Ages been uſed againſt mercenary Troops, is the Suſpicion which may juſtly be entertain'd of their Fidelity. Mercenaries, it is obſerv'd, fight only for Pay, without any Affection for the Maſter whom they ſerve, without any Zeal for the Cauſe which they eſpouſe, and without any Proſpect of Advantage from Succeſs,

Succeſs, more than empty Praiſes, or the Plunder of the Field, and therefore have no Motives to incite them againſt Danger, nor any Hopes to ſupport them in Fatigues; that they can loſe nothing by Flight, but Plunder, nor by Treachery, but Honour; and that therefore they have nothing to throw into the Balance againſt the Love of Life, or the Temptations of a Bribe, and will never be able to ſtand againſt Men that fight for their native Country under the Command of Generals whom they eſteem and love, and whom they cannot deſert or diſobey without expoſing themſelves to perpetual Exile, or to capital Puniſhment.

'These Arguments have always been of great Force, and therefore that Nation whoſe Defence has been entruſted to Foreigners, has always been thought in Danger of Ruin. Yet there have been Conjunctures in which almoſt every State has been oblig'd to rely upon Mercenaries, and in Compliance with immediate Neceſſity to depend upon the Fidelity of thoſe who had no particular Intereſt in ſupporting them. But with much greater Reaſon may we truſt the Succeſs of the preſent War, in ſome Degree to the Troops of *Hanover*, as they are perhaps the only Foreign Forces, againſt which the Arguments already recited are of no Force. They are Foreigners indeed, as they are born in another Country, and governed by Laws different from ours; but they are the Subjects of the ſame Prince, and therefore naturally fight under the ſame Command; they have the ſame Intereſt with ourſelves in the preſent Conteſt; they have the ſame Hopes and the ſame Fears; they recommend themſelves equally to their Sovereign by their Bravery; and can neither diſcover Cowardice nor Treachery, without ſuffering all the Puniſhment that can be feared by our native Troops, ſince their Conduct muſt be cenſured by the ſame Prince, of whoſe Approbation they are equally ambitious, and of whoſe Diſpleaſure they are equally afraid.

'As to the Troops which any neutral Prince might furniſh, there would be Reaſon to fear, that either for larger Pay, or upon any caſual Diſpute that might ariſe, they might be withdrawn from our Service, when they were moſt needed, or transferred to the Enemy at a Time when his Diſtreſs might compel him to offer high Terms, and when therefore there was a near Proſpect of an advantageous Peace. But of the Troops of *Hanover* no ſuch Suſpicion can be formed, ſince they cannot engage againſt us without rebelling againſt their Prince; for it cannot be imagined, that his Majeſty will fight on one Side as Elector of *Hanover*, and on the other as King of *Great Britain*, or that he will obſtruct

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ſtruct the Succeſs of his own Arms, by furniſhing the Troops of *Hanover* to the Enemies of this Kingdom.

'It therefore appears very evident, that we have more to hope and leſs to fear from the Troops of *Hanover*, than from any other, ſince they have the ſame Reaſon with ourſelves to deſire the Succeſs of the Queen of *Hungary*, and to dread the encreaſing Greatneſs of the *French*, and that they can be ſuſpected neither of Treachery nor Deſertion. It is not very conſiſtent with the Candour, with which every Man ought to diſpute on publick Affairs, to cenſure thoſe Meaſures which have been propoſed, without propoſing others that are more eligible: for it is the Duty of every Man to promote the Buſineſs of the Publick, nor do I know, why he that employs his Sagacity only to obſtruct it, ſhould imagine, that he is of any Uſe in the National Council.

'I doubt not but I ſhall hear many Objections againſt the Uſe of theſe Troops, and that upon this Queſtion, Virulence and Ridicule will be equally employ'd. But for my Part, I ſhall be little affected either with the Laughter that may be raiſed by ſome, or the Indignation that may be expreſſed by others, but ſhall vote for the Continuance of theſe Meaſures till better ſhall be propoſed; and I think that theſe Troops ought to be retained, unleſs it can be ſhewn, that any others may be had, leſs dangerous, or of greater Uſe.

Mr *Philips* ſpoke as follows:

Mr Philips.

Sir,

'The Queſtion now before you is of the utmoſt Importance to this Nation: It is no leſs than whether you ſhall take 16,000 *Hanoverians* into *Britiſh* Pay, at a Time when you are at Peace with all the World except *Spain*, againſt whom it is impoſſible theſe Troops can be employed; at a Time when you have a large Fleet, ſufficient not only to defend your Coaſts, but invade and annoy others; at a Time when the Nation groans under the Load of heavy Taxes and a large Debt, and at a Time when all the Powers of *Europe* are ſo employed, that it is impoſſible for any of them to hurt *England*: To what End then are theſe Troops to be taken into our Pay? Is it to aſſiſt the Queen of *Hungary* againſt the Emperor? No. By the Treaty of *Munſter*, by the Laws of the Empire, the Troops of none of the Imperial States can act againſt the Emperor; much leſs can the Troops of *Hanover* againſt an Emperor that *Hanover* itſelf has acknowledged, and joined in the Election of. It was ſaid by an Hon. Gentleman, that theſe Troops can, and will act in Conjunction with the *Britiſh* Troops, wherever it ſhall be

be adviſed; but I believe, it will never be thought adviſable, that they ſhould act againſt the Emperor, becauſe the Conſequence muſt be, that *Hanover* will be put to the Ban of the Empire. A Diſtinction was made by an Hon. Gentleman between acting againſt the Emperor, and acting againſt the Empire, but it was a Diſtinction without a Difference; becauſe, as the Emperor was elected and acknowledged by a Majority of the Electors and the other Princes of the Empire, and had an actual Subſidy granted him of 50 *Roman* Months †, the acting againſt him cannot but be conſidered as acting againſt the Empire. All States muſt, in the Nature of Things, yield to a Majority, and a Majority (which I have often been ſorry to ſee) concludes this Houſe. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'There is no Power then, but *France*, that theſe Troops can be ſuppoſed to act againſt; and ſhall *England*, unallied and unſupported, become Principals in a War againſt *France?* Oh, but it is ſaid, the *Dutch* may ſtill come in: Has not that Experiment been tried, * and have they not declared,

† See the Proteſt on this Occaſion, in the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, P. 341.

* Amongſt the Letters and Negotiations of M. Van Hoey, Embaſſador from the States General to the Court of France, publiſh'd in May, 1743, is the following Memoir of the Contents of a Relation of his Excellency, dated Nov. 5, 1742, wherein the Points of Lord Carteret's Negotiation with their High Mightineſſes are reduc'd to four Propoſitions, viz. 'I. To engage the Republick to join with England and her 'Allies in making War with France. II. To put Garriſons in all the 'ſtrong Places in Flanders belonging to the Queen of Hungary, that ſhe 'may be able to withdraw her Troops, and employ them in the 'Field. III. To lend 30,000 Men of the Troops of the Republick to 'the Queen of Hungary, which Troops are to be in the Pay of Great 'Britain. IV. A new Treaty of Commerce between England and the 'Republick, to the Advantage of the States. —To the firſt Propoſition 'the States-General anſwered, That the War having now ſpread itſelf 'all over Europe, they would not intermeddle therewith to lengthen it, 'and render it more bloody, but would preſerve their Characters as Mediators for the Common Good. To the Second, That the Republick 'never keep Troops on Foot but for her juſt Defence, and for the Maintenance of the general Tranquility. To the Third, That the Republick, ſince ſhe was a Republick, had never made a Cuſtom of lending 'or letting out her Troops to foreign Powers, but, on the contrary, 'had taken Troops into her own Pay when Occaſion required it. As to 'the Fourth, That their High Mightineſſes would be very glad to receive 'ſo ſenſible a Mark of the Friendſhip of England, as this would be, of 'eſtabliſhing the Commerce of both Nations on a more equal Foot, 'and conſequently leſs prejudicial to Holland: That beſides ſhe ſincerely 'wiſhed to knit faſter the reciprocal Band of Amity between the two 'Nations, by all juſt and proper Methods; but that it was the inviolable Maxim of the Republick, not to make herſelf happy, but by 'making others happy; that ſhe could not think of bettering her Situation on Condition to promote the War, and at the Expence of the 'publick Welfare of Europe.

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clared, they will not? And why will they not? Sir, there must be a Uniformity of Opinions and Counſels, to engage Nations to act together. You loſt the Confidence of your old Allies the *Dutch*, when you threw yourſelves into the Arms of *France*; and what Steps have you taken ſince to regain that Confidence? Were they ſo much as conſulted on any one Meaſure that you have taken? Was not the new Emperor acknowledged without their Advice? Was there not a Treaty of Neutrality made with *France* for *Hanover* without their Advice? And now we want the *Dutch* to act againſt *France*, and to guaranty *Hanover*.

'Sir, it is *Hanover*, and *Hanover* only, that ſeems now to be our Care: That is to be guarantied by all our Treaties; and poor *England* muſt maintain the Troops of *Hanover*, all her Troops, even the 4000 Men that ſhe herſelf ſtipulated to provide for the Support of the Pragmatick Sanction; and theſe Troops we are to maintain at treble the Expence they coſt the Elector of *Hanover*. Is not this contrary to the Act of Settlement? Is not this unhinging the very Frame of our Conſtitution?

'Sir, I am as much for preſerving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and for aſſiſting the Queen of *Hungary*, as any one Man in this Houſe; but I am for doing it in a practicable Way, which is by giving her Money. Laſt Year, when it was agreed to ſend over the Troops to *Flanders*, (which, by the Way, was no otherwiſe agreed to, than by voting the Staff and Hoſpital for that Service) every Man in this Houſe was made to believe, the *Dutch* would come in; and it was called a mad and unaccountable Scheme, to pretend to act on the Continent without them; but what followed? There were ſeven Embarkations, the firſt in *May*, the laſt in *September*; ſtill the *Dutch* lay quiet, the *Hanoverians* did not arrive till *October*; but did this mighty Army prevent the *French* from marching to the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor? No. Did not *Harcourt*, did not *Maillebois* march while we remained, and ſtill remain inactive in *Flanders?*

'The Charge of Troops there in our Pay comes to above 1,354,000 *l.* and would not Half that Sum remitted in Money to the Queen of *Hungary*, enable her to fight all her own Battles? It was ſaid by an Hon. Gentleman, the Money cannot be ſent her Time enough; but have we no Credit abroad? I am ſure, the Money can reach her much ſooner than the Troops can march to her Aſſiſtance. I cannot help taking Notice of the large Sum the *Hanover* Troops amount to, no leſs than 657,888 *l.* out of which 14,886 *l.*

14,886 *l. per Annum*, is charged for recruiting Money, tho' you pay none to the *Heſſians*. But the moſt extraordinary, and, indeed, ſurpriſing Article, is the Levy-Money, which comes to near 140,000 *l.* and is at the Rate of 18 *l.* for every Horſeman, and 6 *l.* 15 *s.* for every Footman that was raiſed; and this to be paid for Forces that were not raiſed for our Service, but had been long on Foot. It was ſaid, indeed, you are to pay no Subſidy for theſe Troops, which you are obliged to do for all other foreign Troops: I wiſh I could look on theſe Troops as really foreign ones; but I beg Leave to take Notice, that this Levy-Money amounts to near four Times as much as the Subſidy we pay for the *Heſſians*; and I am credibly informed, that theſe Troops, which are charged to us at 392,697 *l. per Annum*, were maintained by the King, at *Hanover*, for 100,000 *l. per Annum*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Gentlemen blame others for being jealous: Sir, Jealouſy in a Member of Parliament is as great a Virtue, as Over-Credulity is a Vice; but it is ſaid, we ſhould give Reaſons for our Jealouſy: What ſtronger Reaſon, Sir, can be given for it, than when we ſee ſo dangerous an Exertion of the Prerogative, as the taking of 16,000 *Hanoverians* into *Britiſh* Pay, without the Advice or Conſent of Parliament? But it was ſaid by an Hon. Gentleman, that this is no Exertion of the Prerogative at all, becauſe the Troops are not to be paid till the Parliament votes them; but will that Hon. Gentleman ſay, that the Parliament has had its free Option in this Caſe? Was not the Meaſure taken without the Parliament's Advice, and the Troops ordered to march? And, I believe in my Conſcience, that many Gentlemen in this Houſe (who in their Hearts condemn the Meaſure) will vote for the Troops, becauſe they are actually taken into our Pay; and becauſe we have begun, they think, we ought to go on.

'Sir, I have a Right to be jealous, that many of theſe Troops we are to pay for, are not in *Eſſe*; and I am juſtified in that Jealouſy by what I know of our own Troops, many of which, eſpecially the Marines, are very far from being compleat, tho' we pay for the Whole; and many Regiments have been Months, I believe I may ſay, Years, without Heads, without Colonels to command them, by which great Savings have been made, which ought to be accounted for; and if we are ſo liable to be deceived at home, much more may we be ſo abroad.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Sir, upon the Whole, the taking 16,000 *Hanoverians* into *Britiſh* Pay, without the Advice or Conſent of Parliament, is enough to awaken and alarm every honeſt *Briton*; and a Miniſter that was bold enough to adviſe it, may likewiſe adviſe the ſending for them over hither; but let them be where they will, they muſt ſuck the Blood and Vitals of this Kingdom, and as they drain us, they muſt neceſſarily tend to enſlave us, and to deprive us of that Power of Reſiſtance, which every *Engliſhman* is intitled to, whenever his Property ſhall happen to be invaded. The late Miniſter was too wiſe a Man, and too faithful a Subject to adviſe the King to employ *Hanoverians*, to render him odious to his *Britiſh* Subjects. An Hon. Gentleman was pleaſed to ſay, He would be for no Meaſure that ſhould give Diſſatisfaction to the King. Sir, I believe, it was impoſſible for any Meaſure to be invented, that could be more diſagreeable to the People of *England* in general; and if the Miniſters neglect the true Intereſt of their Sovereign, which is to adviſe him to take ſuch Meaſures as may render him amiable to his People, it is high Time for the Parliament to interpoſe; and that, I hope, they will now do, by giving a Negative to this Queſtion.

The Motion for maintaining the Hanoverian Forces agreed to.

But the Queſtion being put, it was determined in Favour of the Propoſal, for maintaining the *Hanoverian* Troops, by 260 againſt 193. The Names of the Members who voted *Pro* and *Con.* upon this memorable Queſtion, will be ſeen in the *APPENDIX.*

Dec. 13. Mr *Fane* reported the ſaid Reſolutions; and it was mov'd to amend the firſt Reſolution, relating to the Payment of 16268 *Hanoverian* Troops, by deducting 139,313 *l.* charg'd for Levy Money; but after Debate the Queſtion being put, it paſs'd in the Negative; on a Diviſion, Ayes 177, Noes 230. Then the reſt of the Reſolutions were agreed to.

And that for Deducting Levy-Money rejected.

Malt-Bill paſs'd.

Dec. 16. An ingroſſed Bill for continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, &c. was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords.

A new Writ was ordered for *Weſtlow*, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wager* * Kt. made Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Navy.

A Petition of the Dean and Chapter of St *Peter*'s *Weſtminſter*, was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth, That the Monies already granted for the Repair of the ſaid Church,

* He was removed from his Poſt of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty upon the Change in the Miniſtry in the Firſt Seſſion, and was rechoſen for the above Borough.

Church, being near expended, the ſaid Works will ſoon be at a Stand; and ſubmitting the ſame to the Conſideration of the Houſe, acknowledging the Favours already conferred on the ſaid Collegiate Church, as well by the preſent as by former Parliaments, and praying the Continuance of them: Thereupon Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his Majeſty's Command, acquainted the Houſe, that his Majeſty having been inform'd of the Contents of the ſaid Petition, recommended it to the Houſe. Hereupon it was referred to the Committee of Supply: On a Diviſion, Ayes 44, Noes 11.

Petition for Weſtminſter-Abbey.

Dec. 21. Ordered a new Writ for the Burghs of St *Andrews*, &c. in the Room of *John Drummond*, * Eſq; and for the Burghs of *Annan*, &c. in the Room of Lord *John Johnſton* †, both deceas'd.

The proper Officers were ordered to lay before the Houſe an Account of the Produce of Twenty Shillings a Gallon on Spirituous Liquors, granted to his Majeſty by an Act of the Ninth Year of his Reign; with an Account of the Produce ariſen yearly, by granting Licences for the retailing of Spirituous Liquors; and the Number of Proſecutions carried on againſt Offenders, in retailing Spirituous Liquors contrary to the ſaid Act, and what has been recovered, and paid into the Exchequer on ſuch Proſecutions.

Accounts order'd relating to Spirituous Liquors.

A Petition of the Priſoners in the *Fleet* (to the Number of Five hundred and upwards) was preſented to the Houſe, complaining of their Diſtreſs, and ordered to lie upon the Table.

Petition from the Fleet Priſoners.

Ordered, *Nem. Con.* That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Members to ſerve for *Scotland*, and to reſtrain the Partiality and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at ſuch Elections; and that Mr *Scot*, and the Lord Advocate of *Scotland* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Three Bills order'd in for regulating Elections.

A Bill was alſo order'd in, to the ſame Purport in regard to the Elections of Knights of the Shire to ſerve in Parliament for *England*, and that Mr *Carew*, Sir *Watkin-Williams Wynne*, and Mr *Cornwall* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

Likewiſe a third relating to Members to ſerve in Parliament for Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Ports, and other Places in *England*; and that Mr *Carew*, Mr *Sydenham*, and Sir *Watkin-Williams Wynne* do prepare and bring in the ſame.

The ſame Day his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and

* Hon. Thomas Leſlie, Eſq;
† Sir James Johnſton, Bart.] were elected.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. and gave the Royal-Assent to the Land-Tax Bill, and the Malt-Bill, and made the following Speech to both Houses of Parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech of Thanks for the Supply.

"I Am very glad of the Occasion, which my coming hither, at this Time, gives me, of expressing to you the great Satisfaction I take, in seeing so good a Progress already made in the Business of this Session.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The Readiness, and Dispatch, with which you have thus early provided so considerable a Part of the Supplies, for the ensuing Year, deserve my particular Thanks: And I make no Doubt, but the same Zeal for the Common Cause, will induce you to enable me to concert proper Measures, and to enter into, or make good, such Alliances, and Engagements with other Powers, as may be necessary for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, and restoring the Balance of Power.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I look upon this Beginning as a sure Pledge of your Steadiness, in pursuing the true Interest of *Great Britain*, which is, and ever shall be, my only View.

Thereupon it was resolved, *Nem. Con.* that an Address of Thanks be presented to his Majesty for his most gracious Speech.

Petition for Westminster-Bridge.

January 10. A Petition of the Commissioners for building *Westminster* Bridge, was presented to the House, setting forth, That the Petitioners find themselves under a Necessity of applying to the House for such further Sums of Money as they shall judge proper, that a Work so useful and advantageous to the Publick may not be stop'd for want thereof, and therefore praying the House to take the Premisses into Consideration

Also from the African-Company.

Then a Petition of the Royal *African* Company of *England*, setting forth, That 10,000 *l.* granted last Session towards the Maintenance of the *British* Forts and Settlements, had been accordingly apply'd; but that they cannot be supported, and the Trade preserved, without the Aid of Parliament; and Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer having acquainted the House, that his Majesty recommends the said Petitions to them, they were severally referred to the Committee of Supply: And it was order'd, that the said Company do lay before the House the Establishment for their Forts and

Settle-

Settlements on the Coaſt of *Africa*, with the Charge thereof, for the Year 1742, diſtinguiſhing how much of the ſame is on Account of Trade, and how much for the Maintenance of the ſaid Forts and Settlements; and alſo an Account how the Money granted in the laſt Seſſion hath been diſpoſed of; likewiſe, an Eſtimate of the Charges for the Maintenance of the ſeveral *Britiſh* Forts and Settlements belonging to the ſaid Company on the Coaſt of *Africa* for the Year 1743. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

The Lord *Baltimore*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to Addreſs, the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy, for the Year 1743.

A Petition of the Truſtees of *Georgia*, was read, ſetting forth the Reſolutions of the 29th of *June*, 1742 *, one whereof was, 'That it will be an Advantage to the ſaid Co-'lony to permit the Importation of Rum from any of the 'other *Britiſh* Colonies;' and that in Purſuance thereof, the Petitioners have prepared a Law agreeably to his Majeſty's Charter, and preſented the ſame, under their Common Seal, to his Majeſty in Council, for repealing ſo much of an Act made in the 8th Year of his preſent Majeſty, as prohibits the Importation of Rum into the ſaid Colony from the other *Britiſh* Colonies; and that they have alſo petition'd, to releaſe the Quit-Rents of Lands in *Georgia* reſerv'd to his Majeſty, in order that the ſame might be reduc'd in the reſpective Grants of Lands there; and that as a further Encouragement to the Inhabitants of the ſaid Colony, the Petitioners have alſo prepar'd a Law for reducing the ſaid Quit-Rents from 4 s. to 2 s. Proclamation-Money of *South Carolina*, for every hundred Acres, and for enlarging and eſtabliſhing the Tenures of the Lands in Fee-ſimple, to all ſuch Perſons who have ſettled, or ſhould hereafter ſettle in the ſaid Colony at their own Expence; but that the Petitioners are utterly incapable of further ſettling and improving the ſaid Colony, without the Aſſiſtance of the Houſe. And from the Truſtees of Georgia, referred to the Committee of Supply.

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer having, by the King's Command, acquainted the Houſe, that his Majeſty recommended the ſaid Petition to their Conſideration, it was order'd to be referr'd to the Committee of Supply.

A Petition of *Thomas Stevens*, Agent for *Georgia* in *America*, was preſented, ſetting forth, *inter alia*, that by the many Reſtrictions and Diſcouragements ariſing from the Laws, Conſtitution, and Government of the ſaid Colony, the Subſtance of the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants being exhauſted, they have been oblig'd to deſert the ſame, and Petition from the Agent for Georgia.

* See the ſaid Reſolutions at large in Vol. 23, P. 271.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

praying Relief: But the Journal of the 29th of *June* last *, being read, the said Petition was ordered to lye upon the Table.

Accounts relating to the Navy order'd in.

Jan. 12. Ordered the State of the Debt of the Navy, as it stood at *Christmas* last, to be laid before the House, and an Account of the Number of Seamen employ'd from the 31st of *December*, 1741, to the 31st of *December*, 1742, distinguishing what Number were borne, and what muster'd in the Service. Also of what Money has been order'd by the Commissioners of the Treasury, and receiv'd by the Treasurers of the Navy, for any Services of the Navy, from the 31st of *December*, 1741, to the 31st of *December*, 1742, distinguishing the Times when receiv'd, and the Services to which apply'd.

Also from Westminster Abbey.

Ordered an Account of what Part of the Revenue of *Westminster-Abbey* has been given for Repair thereof, and how dispos'd of, for seven Years last past.

Bill for Relief of Insolvent Debtors.

Jan. 13. Upon a Motion of Mr *Cornwall*, seconded by Mr *Hay* and Mr *Foley*, a Bill was order'd in for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors.

Grants for the Office of Ordnance.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House, That 146,637 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* be granted for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, for the Year 1743. And 98,048 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d.* for the extraordinary Expence of the said Office, not provided for by Parliament.

Bill relating to Lace.

Jan. 14. Upon a Motion of Lord *Strange*, seconded by Mr *Gybbon* and Mr *Sydenham*, a Bill was order'd in, For prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver Lace, Thread or Wire, in Apparel.

Accounts and Resolutions relating to Spirituous Liquors.

Jan. 17. Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Resolutions. I. That the Duty of 20 *s. per* Gallon, granted in the 9th of his Majesty's Reign, upon all Spirituous Liquors, which any Retailers thereof should be possess'd of, after the 29th of *September*, 1736, shall, after the 25th of *March*, 1743, be no longer paid. II. That there shall be paid, for every Gallon of Low Wines, made from any Foreign or imported Materials, or any Mixture therewith, Sixpence. III. That for every Gallon of Low Wines, drawn only from any Sort of Drink or Wash, brew'd or made from any Sort of Malt or Corn, other than and except Brewer's Wash and Tilts, one Penny. IV. That for every Gallon of Low Wines, drawn from Brewer's Wash or Tilts, or any Mixture therewith, one Penny.

* See Vol. XIII.

Penny. V. For every Gallon of Low Wines, drawn from any other Sort or Kind of *Engliſh* Materials, or any Mixture therewith, Three Half-pence. VI. For every Gallon of Spirits made in *Great Britain*, of any Kind of Wine or Cyder imported, Sixpence. VII. For every Gallon of ſtrong Waters, or Aqua Vitæ, made for Sale, of any other Materials, Three-pence. All the ſaid Sums, beſides all other Duties chargeable thereon, to be paid by the Makers. VIII. That a Drawback be made of the reſpective Duties aforeſaid, on the Exportation thereof. IX. That the Sum of Fifty Pounds yearly, by the ſaid Act granted for a Licence for vending Spirituous Liquors, ſhall, from the 25th of *March*, 1743, ceaſe. X. That after the 25th of *March*, 1743, Twenty Shillings yearly ſhall be paid for a Licence, to be taken out yearly by every Perſon keeping a publick Brandy-Shop, Victualling-Houſe, Coffee-Houſe, Ale-Houſe, or Inn, who ſhall vend any Spirituous Liquors.

The firſt Reſolution was agreed to by the Houſe, but a Motion being made and the Queſtion put, that the ſecond Reſolution be re-committed, it paſs'd in the Negative; and the ſame, together with the other Reſolutions, were agreed to, and a Bill order'd in accordingly.

Jan. 18. Ordered that the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe do lay before the Houſe, an Account of the Quantities and net Produce of the Duties on Foreign Brandy and Spirits; alſo of the net Produce of the Duties upon Strong Waters, Low Wines, and Spirits; likewiſe of the groſs and net Produce of the Duties on Beer and Ale: All from *Midſummer*, 1735, to *Midſummer*, 1742, diſtinguiſhing each Year. And that the proper Officer do lay before the Houſe, an Account of the Monies paid into the Exchequer for the Duties on Foreign Brandy and Spirits, and for the Duties on ſtrong Waters, Low Wines, and Spirits, during the ſame Time, from *Scotland*, diſtinguiſhing each Year.

Mr *Scot* preſented to the Houſe, according to Order, a Bill, To explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Members to ſerve for *Scotland*: As did alſo Mr *Carew* a Bill, To explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Knights of the Shire for *England*; both which were read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading, and the laſt to be printed.

Jan. 19. Mr *Cornwall* preſented to the Houſe a Bill, for the Relief of Inſolvent Debtors, which was read a firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Upon a Motion of Mr *Philips*, the Houſe reſolv'd to addreſs

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

dreſs his Majeſty, that he will be pleas'd to concert Meaſures for the furniſhing all Forces in the Pay of *Great Britain*, (as far as it is poſſible) with the Product and Manufactures of this Kingdom, and that it be preſented by ſuch Members as are of his Majeſty's Privy Council.

Addreſs for cloathing with Britiſh Cloth the Forces in Britiſh Pay.

Then a Motion being made, and the Queſtion being put, that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Directions to be laid before the Houſe, Copies of all Conventions or Engagements enter'd into, between his Majeſty, and the Queen of *Hungary*, or the King of *Sardinia*, for paying 300,000 *l.* to her, and 200,000 *l.* to him, out of the Supplies for laſt Year. It paſſed in the Negative.

Motions for ſeveral Papers relating to the Queen of Hungary and King of Sardinia, &c.

But it was ordered that the proper Officers do lay before the Houſe, an Account of the ſeveral Sums of Money paid to the Queen of *Hungary*, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, that granted 300,000 *l.* to his Majeſty, to enable him to ſupport the ſaid Queen; diſtinguiſhing to whom paid, the Times when paid; and of what Sums were remitted to *Amſterdam*, in Purſuance of the Treaty concluded between his Majeſty and the Queen of *Hungary*, the 13th of *June*, 1741; and at what Rate of Exchange the ſame were remitted from hence.

A Motion being made, and the Queſtion being propoſed, that the proper Officer do lay before this Houſe an Account of the ſeveral Sums of Money iſſued to the Queen of *Hungary*, and the King of *Sardinia*, in Purſuance of an Act of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, diſtinguiſhing to whom paid, the Times when paid, and what Sums were remitted by the Contractors for remitting the ſame, and to what Places the ſame were remitted, and at what Rate of Exchange; the ſame was ordered accordingly.

It was alſo ordered, that the proper Officer do lay before the Houſe, Copies of all Warrants from the Crown to the Pay-Maſter General, or his Deputy, for receiving any Sums of Money on Account of any Subſidies paid to foreign Princes, or for the Hire of foreign Troops; and of all Sums of Money that have been deducted or repaid out of, or upon Account of any Subſidies paid to foreign Princes, or for the Hire of foreign Troops, ſince the 25th of *March*, 1726.

500,000 l. voted on Account, for Support of the ſaid Forces.

Then the Houſe reſolv'd itſelf into a Grand Committee on the Supply, and it being propos'd to reſolve, That 500,000 *l.* be granted upon Account, towards enabling his Majeſty to concert proper Meaſures, and form ſuch Alli-

ances,

ances, or enter into ſuch Engagements with other Powers, as his Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for the Support of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and reſtoring the Balance of Power in *Europe*; it was mov'd, That the Chairman do leave the Chair; after Debate it paſs'd in the Negative, Ayes 159, Noes 212. Then the ſaid Reſolution was agreed to by the Committee: As it was alſo the next Day upon the Report to the Houſe; On a Diviſion, Ayes 245, Noes 156.

Jan. 21. Order'd out a new Writ for *Whitchurch*, in the room of *William Sloper*, * Eſq; deceaſed.

Jan. 24. Mr Comptroller reported to the Houſe, his Majeſty's Anſwer to their Addreſs of the 19th Inſt. 'That 'his Majeſty is always deſirous to give Encouragement to 'the Manufactures of this Kingdom, ſo far as it is poſſible, 'and may be conſiſtent with the Public Service.'

Mr *Carew* preſented to the Houſe a Bill to explain and amend the Laws, touching the Elections of Members for Cities, Boroughs, Towns, Ports, and other Places in *England*; and to reſtrain the Partiality, and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at ſuch Elections, which was read the firſt Time, order'd a ſecond Reading; and to be printed.

The Lord *Strange* preſented a Bill to prohibit the wearing of Gold and Silver Lace, Thread, or Wire, in Apparel, which was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

The next Day Dr *Lee* made a Report from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, relating to a Breach of Privilege on Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*, and two Perſons were taken into Cuſtody. On a Diviſion, Ayes 260. Noes 80.

Jan. 26. A Petition of ſeveral Merchants, Malſters, and Brewers, in *Great Yarmouth*, was read, reciting a Reſolution from the Committee of Supply, (See P. 198.) repreſenting to the Houſe, that ſeveral Laws were heretofore made for obliging all Diſtillers to draw their Low Wines from Drink made of Malted Corn entirely; and that Spirits drawn from Malt only, are more wholeſome than ſuch as are drawn from unmalted Corn, mix'd with Malt; and that by the Diſtiller's Uſe of unmalted Corn, much leſs Corn as well as Malt is conſumed; and therefore praying, that the Diſtillers may be reſtrain'd from uſing unmalted Corn, *&c.* was order'd to lie on the Table.

Petitions relating to unmalted Corn.

Mr *Francis Fane* preſented to the Houſe a Bill, For repealing certain Duties on Spirituous Liquors, which was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Upon

* Charles Clarke, Eſq; was elected.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Mutiny-Bill.

Upon a Motion of Mr Secretary at War, ſeconded by Mr *Boone* and Mr *Monſon*, order'd a Bill in, For puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

A Complaint being made to the Houſe, that the Hand-Writing of a Member had been counterfeited, to prevent the Payment of Poſtage, it was reſolv'd, *Nem. Con.* to addreſs his Majeſty, to give Directions to the Attorney-General, to proſecute ſuch Perſons.

Bill relating to Convicts tranſported.

Jan. 27. Upon a Motion of Mr *Carew*, ſeconded by the Lord *Baltimore*, Mr Alderman *Heathcote*, and Mr Alderman *Calvert*, order'd in a Bill, For the more eaſy and effectual Conviction of Offenders found at large in *Great Britain*, after they have been order'd for Tranſportation.

Accounts relating to Lace.

Order'd an Account of the Quantity of Gold and Silver Lace, Thread and Wire, exported for ſeven Years laſt paſt: And an Account of the Amount of the groſs and net Produce of the Duty upon Gilt and Silver Wire, for ſeven Years paſt, with the Amount of the Drawback upon the Exportation of Gold, Gilt, and Silver Lace, Thread and Wire, for the ſame Time.

Grants in the Committee of Supply.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe. I. That 188,558 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d.* be granted to his Majeſty for the Ordinary of the Navy, (including Half Pay to Sea Officers) for the Year 1743. II. 10,000 *l.* towards the Support of *Greenwich* Hoſpital. III. 58,869 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* for making good the Deficiency of the general Fund ended at *Michaelmas*, 1742. IV. 3,819 *l.* 2 *d.* to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the Deficiency of the additional Stamp Duties, at *Chriſtmas*, 1741. V. 42,000 *l.* to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the ſame, for one Year's Intereſt, due the 5th of *November*, 1742, on the principal Sum of 1,200,000 *l.* lent on Credit of the Salt-Duty, to-towards the Supply of 1741. VI. 13,786 *l.* 10 *s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the the ſame, to make good the Deficiency of the Duty of 12 *s.* a Barrel on Sweets, or Wines made from *Britiſh* or Foreign Fruit or Sugar, at *Michaelmas*, 1742. VII. 4,333 *l.* 10 *s.* 1 *d.* to re-place to the Sinking Fund, the like Sum paid out of the ſame to make good the Deficiency of the Duty upon all Victuallers in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and the Bills of Mortality, at *Michaelmas*, 1742. VIII. 10,000 *l.* to the Royal *African*

frican Company of *England*. IX. 4000 *l.* to *Weſtminſter*-Abbey. X. 25000 *l.* towards finiſhing *Weſtminſter* Bridge.

Jan. 28. Mr *Bennet* preſented a Bill, For the better Preſervation of Fiſh and Game, by encouraging the Deſtruction of Vermin; which was read a firſt Time and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Bill for Deſtruction of Vermine.

Order'd an Account of the Quantities and Produce of Low Wines and Spirits extracted from Malt or Corn; and of the Quantities and Produce of Low Wines and Spirits extracted from Foreign Materials; both from *Midſummer*, 1732, to *Midſummer*, 1742, diſtinguiſhing each Year.

February 1. An ingroſs'd Bill, For the further Puniſhment of Perſons who ſhall aſſiſt or encourage Priſoners to eſcape, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent by Mr *Carew* to the Lords.

Bill paſs'd relating to Priſoners Eſcapes.

The Lord *Baltimore*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to their Order, an Account of the Number of Seamen employ'd in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 31ſt of *December*, 1741, to the 31ſt of *December*, 1742, upon a Medium of each Month; diſtinguiſhing what Number were borne and what muſter'd in the ſaid Service.

February 2. A Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroudwater* was preſented to the Houſe, repreſenting, that the Petitioners at this Time labour under a very great Burthen from the high Price of *Olive*-Oil, occaſion'd by the Prohibition thereof ſince the War with *Spain*, the Price being advanc'd from 26 *l.* to 60 *l.* a Tun, to the great Prejudice of the Woollen Manufactury; which was referr'd to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Petition relating to Olive-Oil.

A Bill, For the better Preſervation of Fiſh and Game, by encouraging the Deſtruction of Vermin, was read a ſecond Time.

On this Occaſion a Member jocoſely propos'd, to inſert a Clauſe in the Bill, whereby Mice ſhould be deemed Vermin, becauſe he had been inform'd, that they had nibbled away great Part of the Corn laid up in *Flanders*, which prevented our Troops there from marching to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *Hungary*. A Motion being made, that the ſaid Bill be committed, it paſs'd in the Negative.

Feb. 3. The Order of the Day being read for taking into further Conſideration the Report from the Committee appointed to conſider the Act for amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, *&c.* The Serjeant at Arms ſummon'd the Members as uſual, and the Reſolutions

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tions of the ſaid Committee were read, *viz.* I. That the ſaid Act is in many Parts inſufficient to anſwer the Purpoſes for which the ſame was deſign'd. II. That the Omiſſion of the Correction of Vagrants by whipping, is one great Cauſe of the Defects and Inſufficiency thereof. III. That the Method of paſſing Vagrants appointed by the ſaid Act, is burthenſome to the Publick, and has not any Way anſwered the Intent of the ſaid Act. IV. That the Puniſhment of incorrigible Rogues and Perſons giving a falſe Account of themſelves, upon their Examinations preſcribed by the ſaid Act, is not ſufficient to anſwer the Intent thereof. V. That ſo much of the ſaid Act as relates to the Nomination and Removal of the Maſter of the Houſes of Correction, is inſufficient. VI. That two Juſtices of the Peace, whereof one to be of the Quorum of the Diviſion, where any Perſon is likely to become chargeable to the Pariſh, ſhall come to inhabit, by their Warrant may be enabled to remove and convey ſuch Perſon to ſuch Pariſh where he was laſt legally ſettled by any Laws now in being, notwithſtanding ſuch two Juſtices, whereof one to be of the Quorum, or either of them ſhall be reſident in, or chargeable to, the Poor's Rates of ſuch Pariſh. VII. That no Perſon ought to gain any Settlement in any Pariſh, by renting a Tenement of ten Pounds *per Annum*, unleſs wholly ſituate within the Pariſh where ſuch Perſon reſides, and for which ſuch Perſon hath duly paid one Year's Rent. VIII. That no poor Perſon ought to gain any Settlement in any Pariſh, by ſerving as a Servant or Apprentice, unleſs the Maſter or Miſtreſs with whom ſuch Service is perform'd, pays the Pariſh Taxes of ſuch Pariſh where ſuch Service is perform'd. IX. That no Perſon ought to gain a Settlement, by ſerving the Offices of Conſtable or Tything-Man, within any Pariſh. X. That every unmarried Perſon not having Children, who ſhall ſerve any Perſon in any Pariſh for the Space of one whole Year, ought to be adjudg'd to have gain'd a legal Settlement by ſuch Service in ſuch Pariſh, although it ſhould not appear that ſuch Perſon was hired to ſerve for a Year. XI. That it is the Opinion of the Committee, a Bill ought to be brought in, To explain, amend, and make more effectual, an Act made in the 13th Year of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, *An Act for amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds*, &c. *And alſo to explain and amend the Laws in being relating to the Settlement and Removal of poor Perſons.*

Reſolutions relating to the Vagabond Act.

The firſt Reſolution of the Committee was agreed to by the Houſe, *Nem. Con.* The 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, were agreed

agreed to on a Diviſion. The 6th, *Nem. Con.* The 7th*, 8th, and 10th Reſolutions agreed to by the Houſe, with an Alteration. The 9th paſs'd in the Negative.

And Leave was given to bring in a Bill or Bills accordingly; and that Mr *Carew*, Sir *Hugh Smithſon*, Sir *Roger Newdigate*, Sir *Nathaniel Curzon*, Sir *Robert Long*, Mr *Noel*, Mr *Proby*, Mr *Southwell*, Mr *Robert Williams*, Mr *Hay*, and Mr *Phillips*, do prepare the ſame.

Griffith Phillips, Eſq; withdrew his Petition for the Borough of *Caermarthen*; [*See Vol.* 13. *P.* 54.] as did alſo Mr *Phillips*, late Mayor and others, for the Borough of *Pembroke*; *Rawleigh Manſel*, Eſq; for *Caermarthen*; *Hugh Barlow*, Eſq; for *Haverford-Weſt*; and *John Symmons*, Eſq; for the County of *Pembroke*.

Petitions for undue Elections withdrawn.

Order'd a new Writ for St *Albans*, in the Room of *Thomas Aſhby*, Eſq; deceas'd †.

A Motion being made by Mr *Waller*, and the Queſtion put, that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Directions, that there may be laid before this Houſe Copies of all Memorials, Repreſentations, and Declarations, which have been ſent either to his Majeſty or his Miniſters, by the Queen of *Hungary* or her Miniſters, or by his Majeſty or his Miniſters, to the Queen of *Hungary* or her Miniſters, and of all Letters which have been ſent to his Majeſty's Miniſters by the Miniſters of the Queen of *Hungary*, or by his Majeſty's Miniſters to the Miniſters of the Queen of *Hungary*, with Copies of the reſpective Anſwers to ſuch Memorials, Repreſentations, Declarations, and Letters, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſince the 1ſt of *September*, 1741, to the 16th of *November*, 1742; it paſs'd in the Negative, Ayes 154. Noes 212 ‡.

Feb. 7. A Petition of ſeveral Merchants, Malſters, and Brewers, in *New Sarum*, was preſented to the Houſe, reciting a Reſolution of the Committee of Supply, to the ſame Pur-

* The Alteration made by the Houſe to the 7th Reſolution of the Committee was thus, viz. After per Annum, 'Unleſs the Tenement, 'or ſo much thereof as is of the Value of ten Pounds per Ann. be ſitu-'ate, &c.' In the 8th Reſolution, after the Word Servant leave out, or Apprentice. In the 10th for, Ought to be adjudg'd, read, Shall be adjudg'd.

† Hans Stanley, Eſq; was elected.

‡ A Motion to the ſame Effect was made in the firſt Seſſion, and over-rul'd, but afterwards carried. *See Vol.* XIII. p. 62, and 104.

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Purpoſe as that of *Yarmouth*, [*See P.*201.] met with the ſame Fate, being order'd to lie on the Table.

Mr *Monſon* preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to Order, an Account from the Paymaſter-General of the Forces, ſhewing what Money was paid to the Queen of *Hungary*, purſuant to Treaty, concluded the 13th of *June*, 1741; and alſo what Money was paid to the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Sardinia*, in Purſuance of an Act of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. Alſo two Returns from the Paymaſter-General of the Forces, to an Order of the Houſe dated the 19th of *January*, 1742.

Petitions relating to the Diſtilling Trade.

A Petition of ſeveral Yeomen and Farmers of *Kent*, againſt the Petition of ſeveral Merchants, Malſters, and Brewers, of *Great Yarmouth*, repreſenting, that the Aſſertion, That more Corn would be conſumed by obliging all Diſtillers to draw their Spirits of the firſt Extraction from Malted Corn intirely, and conſequently that the Corn Grower would be a conſiderable Gainer, is utterly falſe, and that there are every Year, in the very beſt Harveſts, conſiderable Quantities of Corn utterly incapable of being Malted, which is now chiefly uſed for the Diſtillation of Spirits, but ſhould a Law paſs to confine the Diſtiller to draw them from Malted Corn only, the Petitioners know not any Market which can poſſibly take ſuch large Quantities of poor Corn off their Hands. That the Price of Spirits muſt be raiſed by the Diſtiller, in Proportion to the extraordinary Charge this new Method would lay him under, or elſe he muſt abate ſo much from the Price of the Corn, to the Prejudice of the Farmer; that the Price of Spirits which now ſell for 3 *s.* 6 *d.* a Gallon, muſt then neceſſarily be augmented to ſix; that the Diſtiller therefore, inſtead of raiſing the Price of the Spirits, will deduct all the additional Charges out of the prime Coſt of the Malt, and conſequently the Farmer will bear the whole Burthen. And therefore praying, that the late Act of the 6th of his preſent Majeſty, may remain in full Force; was order'd to lie on the Table.

Orders relating to Remittance of Money abroad.

Ordered Copies of all the Minutes of the Treaſury, that relate to the remitting Abroad of any publick Money, ſince the firſt of *March* laſt, and of all Propoſals made for remitting the ſame, to be laid before the Houſe.

Feb. 8. A Petition of ſeveral Clothiers and Manufacturers of *Trowbridge*, ſetting forth, That *Spaniſh* Oil ſtands prohibited from being imported, and that the Olive Harveſt in the *Neapolitan* Territories have fail'd, which, with the Conſumptions of the Armies in *Italy*, have advanc'd it to above

above double the Price: And that the Price of Oil being advanc'd at *Gallipoli*, from whence the Petitioners are chiefly ſupply'd with *Italian* Oil, the *French* and *Dutch* take off the whole Produce of *Old Spain*, ſo that the *Spaniards* are not diſtreſs'd at all by the Prohibition, but his Majeſty's Subjects only; and that the preſent Advance of this Commodity enhances the Price of many of our own Woollen Manufactures near 4 *per Cent.* whereby the *French* and *Dutch* obtain a great Advantage over us in Foreign Markets: That the whole Produce of *Italy* will not be ſufficient to carry on the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and that the Manufacturers, to ſupply the Deficiency of Olive Oil, have already had Recourſe to Fiſh Oil, but found it improper for their Uſe: Therefore praying, that the Prohibition of *Spaniſh* Oil may be taken off, was referr'd to the ſame Committee as the Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroudwater*.

Accounts from the War-Office.

Mr Secretary at War preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to Addreſs, a Liſt of the Reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land-Forces and Marines, entituled to receive Half-Pay in *Great-Britain*, with an Eſtimate of the Charge thereof for 1743; and alſo, an Account of extraordinary Services of his Majeſty's Land-Forces incurr'd *Anno* 1742, not provided for by Parliament. Alſo, by his Majeſty's Command, a Liſt of the Widows of ſuch reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land-Forces and Marines, who died upon the Eſtabliſhment of Half-Pay in *Great-Britain*, and who were married to them before the 25th of *December* 1716, with an Eſtimate of the Charge thereof, for the Year 1743.

Bill relating to Lace drop'd.

The Order of the Day being read, for the ſecond Reading of the Bill to prohibit the wearing of Gold and Silver-Lace, Thread, or Wire in Apparel, the ſame was put off for two Months. This Reſolution was ſuppoſed to be owing to the great Numbers of Petitions from different Parts of the Kingdom, which had been preſented to the Houſe, ſetting forth the unavoidable Ruin, which muſt attend Thouſands of poor Manufacturers and others, by paſſing a Bill of this Nature into a Law.

Feb. 9. A Bill for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Petition relating Olive Oil.

A Petition of the Merchants of *London* trading to *Italy*, ſetting forth, That the Trade from theſe Kingdoms to *Italy* is very beneficial in taking off great Quantities of Manufactures, and that ſuch Trade had been carried on, ſince the preſent War, by large Ships of Force, that in order to the ſpeedy Return of ſuch Ships, the Petitioners have been obliged

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obliged to provide great Quantities of *Italian* Oil in Readineſs, as Foundations for reloading them homewards; and conſiderable Quantities of ſuch Oil are already arriv'd; not leſs than a Thouſand Tuns more are now on the Way, and Orders are gone for greater Quantities which the Petitioners have engaged in, under the Security of the Law, that *Spaniſh* Oil could not, during the War, be imported; and that the *Spaniſh* Court, ſince the War, had rigorouſly prohibited the Introduction of *Britiſh* Manufactures, even by the way of Neutral Ports; and that, tho' Olive Oil was at a Price higher than uſual, the ſame did not ariſe from the Cauſe aſſigned by the Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroudwater*, but from a Shortneſs in the Growth thereof, in the Year 1740 and 1741. Neither was the Exceſs of Price ſo great as repreſented, and that the Quantity uſed by the Clothiers is ſo ſmall, that the high Price would not prove ſuch a very great Burthen on the Woollen Manufacture; but that the introducing *Spaniſh* Oil during the War, which muſt be paid for in Money, and exported from thence in Neutral Ships, will be of the higheſt Prejudice to thoſe who have already inveſted their Properties under a Reliance on the Law; that it may divert a conſiderable Part of the Trade to *Italy*, by the *Italians* taking, in Payment for their Oil, the like Goods from our Competitors in the Woollen Manfactures, as they now take from *Great Britain*; was referr'd to the Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroudwater*.

Bill for Recovery of Small Debts.

Mr *Hungerford* preſented to the Houſe a Bill for the more eaſy and ſpeedy Recovery of ſmall Debts, which was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Feb. 10. Mr *Philips* preſented to the Houſe a Bill for amending the Laws relating to the Settlement of poor Perſons, which was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

A Petition of the Clothiers of *Bradford*, in the County of *Wilts*, ſetting forth, That the exceſſive high Price of Olive Oil, ſince the Prohibition of that from *Spain* is apparently prejudicial to the Woollen Manufactures, was referred to the Committee on the Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroudwater*.

Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe: I. That towards raiſing the Supply, one Million be raiſed by Annuities, at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, and 800,000 *l.* by way of Lottery, to be attended with Annuities after

after the Rate of 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, transferable at the Bank, and charg'd on the ſeveral Duties on Spirituous Liquors, granted this Seſſion. II. That the ſeveral Duties granted by an Act of the Twelfth Year of King *George* I. by laying a Duty upon all Victuallers and Retailers of Beer and Ale in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and within the Bills of Mortality, ſhall, after the 24th of *June* 1743, be no longer paid. III. That in Lieu of the ſaid Duties now charged with the Payment of 481,400 *l.* in Exchequer Bills, the ſaid Sum remaining unſatisfied in Exchequer Bills, with the Intereſt thereon, and Charges of circulating the ſame, ſhall after the 25th Day of *March*, 1743, (together with the Sum hereafter granted to his Majeſty) be charged on the Duties granted this Seſſion for Licences to ſell Spirituous Liquors, or Strong Waters by Retail, ſubject to the ſame Rules and Methods as were preſcribed concerning the circulating and paying off the ſame Exchequer Bills by the Victuallers Act. IV. That towards raiſing the Supply, his Majeſty be enabled to borrow by Loans, or Exchequer Bills, any Sum of Money not exceeding 518,600 *l.* which ſaid Sum, together with the ſaid Sum of 481,400 *l.* remaining unpaid of Exchequer Bills, iſſued purſuant to the ſaid Act, ſhall be charged upon the ſaid Duties granted to his Majeſty this Seſſion of Parliament for Licences to ſell Spirituous Liquors, or Strong Waters by Retail. V. That 12,492 *l.* 2 *s.* 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ *d.* now remaining in the Exchequer, being the Overplus of the Grants for the Year 1742, be applied towards making good the Supply granted to his Majeſty in this Seſſion. And ordered, That a Bill be brought in, purſuant to the ſaid Reſolutions.

Ordered an Account of the Charge of Tranſport Service for the Year 1742, to be laid before the Houſe; and that the Commiſſioners of the Victualling do lay before the Houſe an Account of the Expences in that Office, in victualling his Majeſty's Land-Forces between the firſt of *January* 1741, and the 31ſt of *December* 1742.

Motion for Memorials, Letters, &c. to and from the King of Pruſſia.

Then a Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to communicate to this Houſe, Copies of all Declarations, Memorials or Repreſentations, Letters or Precis of Letters, and an Account of all verbal Communications from the King of *Pruſſia* or his Miniſters, to his Majeſty or his Miniſters, or to the States General or their Miniſters, and by them communicated to his Majeſty or his Miniſters, relating to any Auxiliary or foreign Forces entering into *Germany*, in Support of the Queen of *Hungary*; It paſs'd in the Negative, Ayes 130, Noes 164.

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A Motion was made for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to communicate to the Houſe, Copies of all Declarations, Memorials or Repreſentations, Letters or Precis of Letters, from the King of *Sweden* or his Miniſters, to his Majeſty or his Miniſters, concerning the *Heſſian* Forces, (now in the *Low Countries*) marching or not marching into *Germany*, together with the Anſwers given by his Majeſty or his Miniſters, relating thereunto, which alſo paſs'd in the Negative. Ayes 130, Noes 148.

Alſo from the King of Sweden.

Feb. 11. Mr *Henry Archer* reported from the Committee, appointed to enquire what Laws are expired or near expiring, That the Committee had come to the following Reſolutions.

Report relating to expiring Laws.

I. That an Act in the 4th Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, *An Act for granting an Allowance upon the Exportation of* Britiſh *made Gunpowder.*

II. That an Act made in the fifth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, *An Act to prevent the committing of Frauds by Bankrupts.*

III. That ſo much of an Act made in the eighth Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King *George* the Firſt, intituled, *An Act for giving further Encouragement for the Importation of Naval Stores, and for other Purpoſes therein mentioned*, as relates to the Importation of Wood and Timber, *&c.* from his Majeſty's Plantations.

IV. That ſo much of an Act made in the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King *George* the Firſt, intituled, *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by laying a Duty upon all Victuallers*, &c. as relates to the additional Number of 100 Hackney Chairs.

V. That ſeveral Clauſes in an Act made in the ninth Year of Queen *Anne*, in the tenth Year, and in the twelfth Year of the ſaid Queen; and alſo in an Act made in the firſt Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King *George* the Firſt, relating to the Juriſdiction, Powers, and Authorities of the Commiſſioners for licenſing and regulating Hackney Coaches, and of Juſtices of the Peace; and to the Rules, Penalties, Forfeitures, and Directions therein mentioned, are all near expiring, and fit to be continued.

The ſecond Reſolution of the Committee, being read a ſecond Time, was agreed to by the Houſe.

The firſt, third, fourth and fifth ſubſequent Reſolutions of the Committee, being read a ſecond Time, were poſtpon'd; but a Bill was order'd to be brought in upon the ſecond Reſolution, by Mr *Henry Archer* and Mr *Philips*.

And

And it was order'd that ſeveral Acts and Clauſes mentioned in the other Reſolutions of the ſaid Committee, which were poſtpon'd, be referr'd to the Committee of Supply.

Then Lord *Baltimore*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to Addreſs, an Eſtimate of the Debt of his Majeſty's Navy, as it ſtood on the 31ſt of *December*, 1742.

Ordered a new Writ for *Whitchurch*, in the room of *Charles Clarke*, Eſq; * now one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Petitions relating to Olive-Oil.

Feb. 14. A Petition of the Clothiers of *Melſham*; and of the Borough of *Devizes* in *Wilts*; and of the Maſter-Combers of *Norwich*, the Woollen-Manufacturers at *Chippenham*, and the Clothiers and Manufacturers of *Durſley*, *Wotton*, and *Uley* in the County of *Glouceſter*, to the ſame Purport as that from *Stroudwater*, was referr'd to the ſame Committee, as was alſo a Counter-Petition from the Merchants of *Briſtol*.

Ordered a new Writ for *Penryn*, † and alſo for *Rocheſter*, in the room of Admiral *Vernon*, who made his Election for *Ipſwich*.

Eſtimate for Repairs of Shipping.

Reſolved, That an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to give Direction to the proper Officers to lay before the Houſe, an Eſtimate of what may be neceſſary for the Buildings, Rebuildings and Repairs of his Majeſty's Ships, for the Year 1743.

Mr *Francis Fane* preſented to the Houſe a Bill for repealing the ſeveral Duties upon Victuallers, for transferring the Exchequer Bills, unſatisfy'd thereupon, to the Duties for Licences to ſell Spirituous Liquors, and alſo for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe a certain Sum of Money for the Service of the Year 1743, to be farther charged on the ſaid Duties for Licences, which was read a firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors paſs'd.

An ingroſſed Bill for repealing certain Duties on Spirituous Liquors, *&c.* was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent by Mr *Francis Fane* to the Lords; where it occaſioned great Debates ‡.

* Major General Wentworth, who commanded at the Siege of Carthagena, was elected in his Place.

† The Hon. John Boſcawen, Eſq; was elected for Penryn, without Oppoſition; and David Polhill, Eſq; [See Vol. xiii. P. 9.] for Rocheſter againſt Vice-Admiral Matthews.

‡ See the Debate at Large in the Eighth Volume of TIMBERLAND'S Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords. Part II.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Feb. 15. A Petition of the Clothiers of *Froome*, and of the Woollen Manufacturers reſiding at *Briſtol*, to the ſame Purport, as the Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroud-water*, were refer'd to the ſame Committee.

Mr *Carew* preſented a Bill for the more eaſy and effectual Conviction of Offenders, found at large in *Great Britain*, after they have been order'd for Tranſportation; which was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Bill paſs'd relating to the Scotch Elections.

An ingroſſed Bill to explain and amend the Laws, touching the Elections of Members to ſerve for *Scotland*, and to reſtrain the Partiality and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at ſuch Elections, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Scot*.

Sir *Hugh Smithſon* preſented a Bill, to impower Juſtices of the Peace to act in certain Caſes relating to Pariſhes and Places, to the Rates and Taxes of which they are rated or chargeable; which was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading: And to be printed.

The Petitions relating to Olive Oil drop'd.

The Order of the Day being read, for the Houſe to reſolve into a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the Petition of the Clothiers of *Stroudwater*, &c. The Conſideration thereof was put off for two Months.

Feb. 17. Order'd an Account of what Cambricks and Lawns have been imported into this Kingdom for ſeven Years laſt paſt, diſtinguiſhing each Year, with the Places from whence they came, and the reſpective Duties charg'd thereon.

Mr *Francis Fane* preſented to the Houſe a Bill for raiſing a certain Sum of Money by Annuities, and a Lottery for the Service of the Year 1743, which was read the firſt Time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to Order, Copies of the Minutes of the Treaſury, ſince the firſt of *March*, 1741-2, for remitting abroad any Public Money, which was order'd to lie on the Table to be peruſed by the Members.

Motion relating to the Foreign Troops in Britiſh Pay.

A Motion being made by Lord *Guernſey*, and the Queſtion being put, that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed, if it be neceſſary to march an Army, and act in *Germany*, to order all the Mercenaries in Pay of *Great Britain* to that Service, in Conſideration of the great Diſtance, Charge and Inconveniency it will be to the *Britiſh* Troops, and that Part of the ſaid *Britiſh* Troops be left in the Low Countries, if any of the Forces we now pay abroad are to remain there; and humbly

humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that he will, in Compaſſion to the Diſtreſſes and Poverty of this Nation, eaſe us of the Burthen and Expence of the 6000 *Heſſians*, if they do not march, or cannot act in the Empire; and that, if 6000 Men are wanting in the Low Countries, they may be ſupplied from our own numerous (otherwiſe uſeleſs and burthenſome) Army at home. It paſs'd in the Negative, Ayes 135, Noes 182. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. And for diſcharging 6000 Heſſians.

Feb. 18. Mr *Carew* preſented to the Houſe a Bill for amending and making more effectual the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, *&c.* which was read a firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading: And to be printed. Bill relating to Vagabonds,

Mr *Henry Archer* preſented a Bill to continue an Act made in the fifth Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, *To prevent the committing Frauds by Bankrupts*, which was read the firſt Time, and order'd to be read a ſecond Time. Bankrupts,

The ſame Day it was was order'd, That the Committee of the whole Houſe on the Mutiny Bill, have Power to receive a Clauſe, to oblige Soldiers, having Wives or Children, to diſcover, and give an Account upon Oath, before ſome Juſtice of Peace, where quarter'd, of their laſt legal Settlement. And Soldiers.

Feb. 21. The Lord *Baltimore*, from the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, preſented to the Houſe, purſuant to Addreſs, an Eſtimate of the Buildings, Rebuildings, and Repairs of Ships of War, for the Year 1743.

A Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that the proper Officer do lay before this Houſe, Copies of the Letters or Memorials of Mr *Wilkinſon* and Mr *Muilman*, to the Treaſury, (relating to the remitting of the Publick Money abroad) in the Months of *June* and *October* laſt, and on the 11th of *January* laſt. It paſs'd in the Negative, Ayes 77, Noes 119. Motion relating to the Remittance of publick Money.

Feb. 22. The Order of the Day being read, for the Houſe to reſolve into a Grand Committee, upon the Bill for the more eaſy and ſpeedy Recovery of ſmall Debts; the ſame was poſtpon'd for two Months; by a Majority of 63 againſt 42. The Bill relating to ſmall Debts drop'd.

Feb. 23. Ordered an Account of what Cambricks have been imported into this Kingdom ſince the firſt of *Auguſt* laſt, with the Places from whence they came and the Duties charged thereon. New Writ for Oxfordſhire.

Feb. 24. A new Writ was order'd for a Knight of the Shire for *Oxford*, in the Room of Lord Viſcount *Quarendon*, * now Earl of *Litchfield*.

* Norreys Bertie, Eſq; was elected.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Bill paſs'd to repeal the Victualing Act.

An ingroſs'd Bill, For repealing the ſeveral Rates and Duties upon Victuallers and Retailers of Beer and Ale, *&c.* was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

Motion for diſcharging the Mercenary Troops.

A Motion being made and the Queſtion put, that an Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, That in Conſideration of the great and increaſing Load of Debts and Taxes with which this Nation is burthen d, and of the juſt and neceſſary War in which it has for ſome time been engag'd with *Spain*, he will be graciouſly pleas'd, in Compaſſion to his Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, to leſſen the publick Expence, by diſmiſſing the mercenary Troops now in the Pay of *Great Britain*, in caſe none of the other Powers of *Europe* (particularly the States General of the United Provinces) engag'd by Treaties and bound by Intereſt to ſupport the Queen of *Hungary*, ſhould think proper to act offenſively in *Germany* in Concert with his Majeſty, in Purſuance of thoſe Engagements, conformable to the humble Addreſs and Advice of this Houſe, and of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Approbation of it, in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in which the timely Concurrence of other Powers was laid down, as the only Means of ſupporting the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and reſtoring the Balance of Power in *Europe*: It paſs'd in the Negative. Ayes 132. Noes 195.

Bill relating to tranſported Convicts;

Feb. 25. An ingroſs'd Bill, For the more eaſy and effectual Conviction of Offenders found at large in *Great Britain*, after they have been order'd for Tranſportation, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Carew*.

And for Inſolvent Debtors paſs'd.

March 1. An ingroſs'd Bill, For the Relief of Inſolvent Debtors, was read a third Time, and paſs'd. On a Diviſion, Ayes 87. Noes 56. And ſent to the Lords by Mr *Cornwall*.

Bill againſt the Importation of Foreign Lace.

Upon a Motion of Lord *Dupplin*, ſeconded by Mr Secretary at War, and Mr Alderman *Heathcote*, it was order'd, *Nem. Con.* that a Bill be brought in, For the more effectually preventing the Importation and Wear of Gold and Silver Thread, Lace, Fringe, or other Work, made of Gold and Silver Wire manufactur'd in Foreign Parts, which was the next Day preſented by Lord *Dupplin*, and read the firſt Time and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Mutiny-Bill paſs'd.

An ingroſs'd Bill, For puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr Secretary at War.

March

March 3. Ordered a new Writ for *Suffolk*, in the Room of Sir *Jermyn Davers*, * Bart. deceas'd.

A Petition of ſeveral Gentlemen, Manufacturers, Freeholders, *&c.* in the Soak of *Grantham*, praying, *inter alia*, that a Bill may paſs, For regiſtering, from the Grower and Feltmonger, the whole Crop of Wool in *Great Britain*, or in *England* and *Wales* only, for one Year, was order'd to lie on the Table.

Orders relating to Remittance of Money.

Order'd Copies of the Minutes of the Treaſury, containing all Contracts or Agreements made with Sir *Henry Furneſe*, from the firſt of *January*, 1703, for the remitting Money Abroad, during the War, to be laid before the Houſe.

Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Reſolutions, which were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* I. That 26,137 *l.* 10 *d.* be granted for the reduc'd Officers of the Land Forces and Marines for 1743. II. That 3918 *l.* for paying off Penſions to the Widows of ſuch reduc'd Officers as died upon the Eſtabliſhment of Half Pay in *Great Britain*, for the Year 1743. III. That 41,435 *l.* 18 *s.* 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for defraying extraordinary Expences and Services of his Majeſty's Land Forces, incurr'd *Anno* 1742, and not provided for by Parliament. IV. That 133,871 *l.* 8 *s.* 11 *d.* for the Freight of Tranſports, between the firſt of *Jan.* 1741, and 31ſt of *December*, 1742. V. That 35,075 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* for the Expence of Victuals provided for his Majeſty's Land Forces, between the firſt of *January*, 1741, and the 31ſt of *December*, 1742. VI. That 12000 *l.* for the Colony of *Georgia*. On this laſt Reſolution the Houſe divided. Ayes 135. Noes 60.

On Occaſion of the Motion for the foregoing Grant for Freight of Tranſports, Mr *Phillipps* ſpoke to the following Effect.

Mr Phillipps.

Sir,

'I have peruſed the Account of Tranſport Service now under your Conſideration, as I have moſt of the other Eſtimates and Accounts that have been laid before the Houſe, and I am ſorry to ſay, that few, if any, of them are ſatisfactory to an inquiſitive Mind; and an inquiſitive Mind, I think, every Member of Parliament ought to have: I mean no more than this, That an honeſt Man, who has the Service of his Country at Heart, and is reſolved not to be led blindfold to vote for Things that he does not underſtand, but to inquire and ſatisfy himſelf how the ſeveral Sums aſk'd for do ariſe, is not warranted by theſe Accounts to grant the Money contained in them. But of all others the Tranſport

* John Affleck, Eſq; was elected.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Tranſport Account is the moſt extraordinary: That Service comes to 133,871 *l.* 8 *s.* and 11 *d.* and one Article in the Account, which conſiſts of three Words only, *Freight of Tranſports*, comes to 117,707 *l.* 8 *s.* 3 *d.* This may be called a Parliamentary Account, for what I know, but I am ſure, it is not a ſatisfactory one. The Sum demanded ſeems to be too large, but if it was 200,000 *l.* inſtead of 100,000 *l.* I am ſure, I could not contradict it; neither can any Perſon that is not acquainted with the Particulars; but this Account is ſo very lame, that there is not ſo much as a Diſtinction made between the Tranſports ſent to *Flanders*, and thoſe ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, but they are all lump'd together, and make a handſome round Sum of 117,000 *l.*

'Suppoſe any Gentleman's Steward or Agent was to bring him in an Accouut of 50 or 100,000 *l.* laid out for building a Houſe, or any other Service, without producing the Particulars or Vouchers, would he allow of that Account? If he would, Sir, I am ſure he muſt have greater Confidence in his Agent, than I can or ought to have in the Commiſſioners of the Navy who produce you this Account, or, indeed, in any Miniſterial Perſons whatſoever. It is the Duty of Members of Parliament to be jealous of Miniſters, to examine ſtrictly all Accounts that are attended with a Burden to the People, and to be thoroughly ſatisfied, that the Money is rightly applied before they allow it. We are but Stewards, or Agents for the People, and we are accountable to them for every Penny we raiſe on them. An Account compoſed of groſs Sums is no Account at all, and therefore, I think, ought to be rejected.

'We are kept ſo in the Dark, Sir, in every Thing that relates to the Navy, that, I fear, there is a great Myſtery of Iniquity at the Bottom of it, and it is high Time there ſhould be a Parliamentary Inquiry into it. Laſt Year there was granted in the Navy Account, including Tranſports, 2,437,402 *l.* 12 *s.* 8 *d.* and this Year, excluſive of Tranſports, 2,268,558 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d.* Yet there is now a Debt on the Navy of 2,182,895 *l.* 14 *s.* And tho' ſuch great Sums have been granted, this Debt has increaſed ſince laſt Year 526,888 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. How this Debt can riſe is moſt ſurpriſing, when we conſider, that the Article of Wear and Tear only, for the 40,000 Men which have been granted for two Years paſt, at 1 *l.* 7 *s. per* Man, *per* Month, comes to 702,000 *l. per Annum*, which is vaſtly more than the Charge of fitting out our Men of War with new Rigging comes to; and ſurely they cannot want every Year to be

new

new rigged. I ſpeak from Information, which I have had from Perſons of great Credit, who have been concerned in the Navy, and ſhall beg Leave to explain what I have ſaid by giving an Inſtance or two. The whole Charge of fitting out a Ship of a hundred Guns, with Maſts, Yards, Rigging, Cables, Anchors, Sails, Boatſwains and Carpenters Stores, and every Thing except her Hull, (which comes to above 27,000 *l.*) is computed to be 8350 *l.* The Wear and Tear allowed to ſuch a Ship, ſuppoſing her to have her Complement of 850 Men, is 14,917 *l.* 10 *s.* ſo that there is 6567 *l.* 10 *s.* granted for this Service more than it comes to. The Charge of fitting out a forty Gun Ship is computed to be 2239 *l.* The Wear and Tear allowed to ſuch a Ship, ſuppoſing her to have her Complement of 250 Men, is 4387 *l.* 10 *s.* which is 2148 *l.* 10 *s.* more than the whole Charge of Rigging comes to. It is the ſame in Proportion with every other Ship, ſo that there muſt be prodigious Savings on this Head only, but how they are applied is kept ſecret from us; which convinces me, that there are ſome Articles that will not bear the Light.

'You have a farther Charge on your Table of 135,025 *l.* for Navy Buildings, the Account of which was called for by one of the Gentlemen of the Admiralty; but, I think the Gentlemen have been ſo modeſt not to refer it, at leaſt this Year, to the Committee of Supply; but ſure I am, there is more ſaved every Year on the Head of Wear and Tear, than is ſufficient to anſwer the Expence of our Navy Buildings and Tranſport Service; therefore I muſt give my Negative to this Queſtion, until a fair Account is laid before us of all our Navy Expences.

March 4. An ingroſs'd Bill, For raiſing by Annuities and a Lottery 1,800,000 *l.* at 3 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, for the Year 1743, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

Lottery Bill paſſed.

The ſame Day ſeveral Perſons concern'd in remitting Abroad of publick Money were order'd to attend the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referr'd to conſider of the Papers preſented this Seſſion, relating to ſuch Remittances.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Reſolutions, which were read and agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* 1. That towards raiſing the Supply, there be iſſued one Million out of the Sinking Fund. 2. That an Act of the 4th of *Geo.* II. For granting an Allowance

Farther Reſolutions of the Committee of Supply.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ance upon the Exportation of *Britiſh* made Gun-Powder, is near expiring and fit to be continued. 3. That ſo much of an Act of 8th *Geo.* I. giving further Encouragement for the Importation of Naval Stores, as relates to the Importation of Wood and Timber from any of his Majeſty's Plantations or Colonies in *America*. 4. That ſo much of an Act of the 12th *Geo.* I. For granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by laying a Duty upon all Victuallers, *&c.* as relates to the additional Number of 100 Hackney Chairs. 5. That ſeveral Clauſes in one Act of the 9th, and two others of the 10th and 12th of *Anne*. Alſo an Act of 1ſt *George* I. relating to the Juriſdiction, Powers and Authorities, of the Commiſſioners for licenſing and regulating Hackney-Coaches, and of Juſtices of the Peace, and to the Rules, Penalties, Forfeitures, and Directions therein mentioned, are all near expiring, and fit to be continued. And a Bill was order'd in Purſuance of the ſaid Reſolutions.

Bill paſs'd relating to Elections for Counties in England.

An ingroſs'd Bill, To explain and amend the Laws touching the Election of Knights of the Shire to ſerve for *England*, and to reſtrain the Partiality and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at ſuch Elections, was read the third Time and paſs'd. On a Diviſion, Ayes 99. Noes 77. And ſent to the Lords by Mr *Carew*, where it was Loſt.

March 8. A Petition of the Corporation, *&c.* of *Grantham*, to the ſame Purpoſe as the former, had the ſame Succeſs.

An ingroſs'd Bill, To impower Juſtices of the Peace to act in certain Caſes relating to Pariſhes and Places, to the Rates and Taxes of which they are rated or chargeable, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Sir *Hugh Smithſon*.

The ſame Day the Committee appointed to conſider further of the Importation and Wearing of Foreign Cambricks, was put off for two Months.

Motion for better Manning the Fleet.

March 9. Admiral *Vernon* took Notice to the Houſe, of the Hardſhips ſuffer'd by the *Britiſh* Sailors, in being forc'd from their Families by the violent Method of preſſing, and being afterwards oblig'd to take up their Pay, if neceſſitated, at a very large Diſcount; adding, that he had a Scheme to propoſe for remedying that Evil. Hereupon it was reſolv'd, to appoint a Day to conſider of more effectual Means for the eaſy and ſpeedy Manning of his Majeſty's Fleet.

Debate relating to the Remittance of Publick Money.

March 10. The Commons in a Grand Committee, took into Conſideration, the Papers concerning the Remitting Abroad of publick Money, and after Examination of a great

Number

Number of Perſons relating thereto, Mr *Edmond Waller*, ſpoke to the following Effect: An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Sir,

Mr Waller.

'From the Papers laid before you by Order of the Houſe, from thoſe produced by the Witneſſes you have examined, particularly Meſſieurs *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, and from the Information thoſe Witneſſes have given you, I ſhall ſtate as methodically, as fairly, and as impartially as I can, the Matters of Fact relating to thoſe Contracts for remitting our Money abroad, and the Manner in which they were entered into, in order that you may judge, whether the Affair now under your Conſideration deſerves your Cenſure, or your Approbation. But becauſe the Buſineſs of Exchange may not, perhaps, be thoroughly underſtood by many Gentlemen in this Houſe, I ſhall firſt explain that Myſtery as briefly and clearly as I am able.

Exchange, Sir, is, properly ſpeaking, the Price or Premium that is paid or received for carrying Gold or Silver from one Country to another. For Example, If a Man were going to *Holland*, and wanted to carry 1000 *l.* or 250 Ounces of Gold thither, (which I ſhall ſuppoſe to be of that Value) he muſt either carry it himſelf, or pay ſome Perſon for taking the Trouble, and running the Riſk to carry it for him; and if in a Month's Time he were to come back again, and to bring the ſame Quantity of Gold along with him, he muſt do the ſame. Again, if a Man wanted to carry 250 Ounces of Gold to *Holland*, and another Man, at the ſame Time wanted to bring 250 Ounces of Gold from *Holland*, if there were no Dealers in Bills of Exchange, nor they known to each other, they muſt both either be their own Carriers, or pay a Premium for carrying it. To prevent this double Trouble and Expence, Numbers of Merchants have, in every Country, ſet up to be Dealers in Bills of Exchange, who are a Sort of Brokers or middle Dealers between thoſe who want to carry out Money, who are called Remitters, and thoſe who want to bring it in, who are called Drawers; and if between any two Countries the Quantity of Money to be drawn for, and the Quantity to be remitted, were at all Times exactly equal, neither Drawer nor Remitter would ever have Occaſion to pay any Thing but a Trifle, perhaps a Half, or a Quarter *per Cent.* to the Dealer in Bills of Exchange for his Trouble, and the Riſk he runs of ſometimes taking a bad Bill.

'But, Sir, as theſe two Quantities are never equal: As the Proportion between them is in a continual State of Variation,

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

ation, therefore the Courſe of Exchange between any two Countries muſt be the ſame; for Bills of Exchange, like all other Commodities, riſe and fall in their Price, according to the Proportion between the Demand, and the Quantity brought to Market; and when the Quantity to be remitted, that is to ſay, carried out of any Country to another, is always greater than the Quantity to be drawn for, that is to ſay, brought from that other, the Exchange will always be againſt the former, and its Gold and Silver will be continually carried out to that Country. For Example, there is always a greater Quantity of Money to be carried out from this Country to *Holland*, than there is to be brought from thence hither; conſequently, the Courſe of Exchange is continually againſt us, that is to ſay, every Man who has Money to remit or carry out from hence to *Holland*, muſt pay a Premium for it, which is called the Exchange; and no Man will bring Gold or Silver from thence hither, becauſe when he wants to bring Money hither, he can, by Means of a Dealer in Exchange, find out ſeveral Men who want to carry Gold or Silver to *Holland*, and will, therefore, give him a Premium to ſave them the Trouble, by giving them the Gold or Silver he has in *Holland*, in lieu of an equal Quantity of theirs here. From hence it is plain, that no Man who pays in to a Dealer in Exchange here, 1000 *l. Sterling*, or 250 Ounces of Gold, can expect to get a Bill upon *Holland* for as much *Dutch* Money as will purchaſe 250 Ounces of Gold of equal Fineneſs there; but muſt expect to be a Loſer, equal to the Amount of this Premium or Exchange, which is generally between Five and Six *per Cent.*

'I ſhall next obſerve, Sir, and I deſire Gentlemen will take particular Notice of what I ſay, becauſe it is of great Importance in this Debate; I ſay, I ſhall next obſerve, that the Exchange between no one Country and another can ever riſe much above the Value of the Riſk and Trouble of carrying Gold and Silver from one of theſe Countries to the other; becauſe when it does, the Dealers in Exchange will carry out, or pay for carrying out Gold and Silver, in order to have the Advantage of Drawing. Suppoſe the Value of the Trouble and Riſk of carrying Gold and Silver from hence to *Holland* to be equal to 3 *per Cent.* in that Caſe the Exchange between *Holland* and this can never riſe to above 6 *per Cent.* or perhaps 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, upon ſome very extraordinary Occaſion. If it ſhould riſe to 6 *per Cent.* the Dealers in Exchange would immediately begin to ſend over our Gold and Silver,

Silver, or at leaſt to pay for ſending it over, by purchaſing it there from thoſe that do; and the Reaſon is plain, becauſe they pay 3 *per Cent.* for ſending it over, and after they have it there, they get 6 *per Cent.* by taking People's Money here and giving them Bills for it upon *Holland*, ſo that they have three *per Cent.* clear Profit. This Practice, therefore, of ſending over Gold and Silver will not only prevent the Exchange from riſing much above ſix *per Cent.* but will reduce it, and generally keep it lower, perhaps never for any Time above five and an half *per Cent.* to our Diſadvantage. Thus, Sir, if we were to ſpeak properly, the Exchange between *Holland* and this ought to be called high when 'tis moſt to our Diſadvantage, and low when it is leaſt; but as the Merchants denominate the Exchange high or low according to the Number of Guilders or Stivers they receive in *Holland* for a Pound *Sterling* paid in here, they call it high when it is leaſt to our Diſadvantage, and low when it is moſt to our Diſadvantage. That is, when they receive in *Holland* ten Guilders nineteen Stivers for a Pound Sterling paid here, they call the Exchange high, and when they receive but ten Guilders ſixteen Stivers in *Holland* for a Pound Sterling paid here, they call the Exchange low; and as this is the Language of the Merchants, I ſhall conform myſelf thereto in what I am to ſay upon the Subject But before I begin to ſay any Thing about the Contracts now under our Conſideration, I muſt obſerve farther, that from Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Table of foreign Coins it has been calculated, that when we receive but a little more than ten Guilders ſeventeen Stivers, Current Money in *Holland*, for a Pound Sterling paid here, the Exchange is then above Five and an half *per Cent.* to our Diſadvantage; conſequently, if we were to receive but ten Guilders ſixteen Stivers Current Money in *Holland* for a Pound Sterling paid here, it would be about ſix *per Cent.* to our Diſadvantage; and therefore, from what I have before obſerved, it is apparent, that the Exchange can never fall much below ten Guilders ſixteen Stivers for a Pound Sterling, at leaſt as long as we have any ſuch Thing as Gold or Silver in the Kingdom; for when it falls lower than that, the Dealers in Bills of Exchange will certainly begin to export our Gold and Silver, or to pay for exporting it, to the End they may draw Bills for it, becauſe of the great Profit to be got by that Traffick; and this will neceſſarily raiſe the Exchange again to ten Guilders ſeventeen, perhaps eighteen or nineteen Stivers, Current Money of *Holland*, for a Pound Sterling paid in here.

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here. This Obſervation is confirmed by Experience; for notwithſtanding the great and extraordinary Remittances to *Holland* this laſt Year, we find the Exchange has ſunk but a very little, and has never continued long under ten Guilders ſixteen Stivers, Current Money, or thirty-four Shillings four Groots *Flemiſh*, Bank Money, (which is the ſame Value) for the Pound Sterling.

'Having thus explained the Nature of Exchange, Sir, and particularly that between *Holland* and this, I ſhall proceed to examine the Contracts under our Conſideration, and I muſt begin with taking Notice, that in *March* or *April* laſt, when it was reſolved to ſend a large Body of our Troops to *Flanders*, the Exchange between *Holland* and this was at 34 *Shillings* 8 *Groots Flemiſh*, Bank Money, for the Pound *Sterling*, which is about 10 *Guilders* 18 *Stivers Dutch* Money *per* Pound *Sterling*. When this Meaſure was reſolved on, the Lords of the Treaſury could not but know or foreſee, that they would ſoon have Occaſion for remitting large Sums of Money to *Holland*; therefore they ſhould have carefully examined the current Rate of Exchange, and the Probabilities of its riſing or falling; and likewiſe they ſhould have examined into the Practice of the Treaſury upon ſuch Occaſions, in former Times, eſpecially during the late War in the Queen's Time. If they had done this, they would have found, that there was no Probability of the Exchange falling above 2 or 3 *Stivers* in a Pound *Sterling* below the then current Rate, and they would have ſeen, that in former Times, upon every ſuch Occaſion, the Cuſtom of the Treaſury was, as ſoon as it was proper to let the Thing be known, to ſignify to the chief Dealers in Bills of Exchange, that the Publick would ſoon have Occaſion to remit large Sums to ſuch a Country, to *Holland* for Example, and that the Treaſury were ready to receive Propoſals ſealed up for that Purpoſe: They would likewiſe have ſeen, that when ſuch Propoſals were deliver'd in, the Treaſury had always, without any Reſpect to Perſons of equal Character and Credit, given the Jobb to the higheſt Bidder, and that if any two or three Bidders were equal, it was equally divided among them.

'Did they do any ſuch Thing, Sir, upon this Occaſion? I am ſure, it does not appear from their Minutes, that they did; and as no Bidder appeared but one, I mean Mr *Gore*, it is highly probable, he had a private Hint given him by ſomebody, and accordingly, *April* 29th, 1742, he preſents his Propoſal to the Lords of the Treaſury in theſe Words: 'Being informed, that his Majeſty has commanded a Body

'of

'of Troops upon foreign Service, I humbly propoſe to give my Bills on *Amſterdam* for ſuch Sums as ſhall be wanting for the Service of the ſaid Troops, upon my receiving the Value thereof, after the Rate of 10 *Guilders* 11 *Stivers* and a half Current Money of *Amſterdam*, for each Pound *Sterling*, which ſhall be payable as follows, *viz.* two Thirds at eight Days Sight, and one Third at one Month after Date.'

'This extraordinary Propoſal, Sir, ſhould have ſhewn them, how neceſſary it was to give Notice to other Dealers to give in their Propoſals, eſpecially as there was ſufficient Time for that Purpoſe; for this Propoſal was no leſs than ſix *Stivers* and a half *per* Pound *Sterling* below the then current Rate of Exchange, and conſequently was an Advantage of above three *per Cent.* to the Drawer, beſide the Profit which every Drawer in the common Way has for his Trouble in remitting other People's Money; for even at 10 *Guilders* 18 *Stivers per* Pound *Sterling*, the Drawer muſt have a Profit, otherwiſe he would not take the Trouble of receiving other People's Money, and giving his Bills for it, nor would he run the Riſk of keeping his Money in *Holland* for that Purpoſe, or of taking bad Bills in order to have it back again. Nay, Sir, this Propoſal was four *Stivers* and a half below what the Exchange could in any Probability fall to, and, conſequently, was above two *per Cent.* almoſt certain to the Advantage of the Drawer, beſide his uſual Profit upon Drawing.

'There was, therefore, the higheſt Reaſon to reject this Propoſal with Contempt, and to recur to the antient Cuſtom of the Treaſury; but what did theſe Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury do? Why, Sir, they inſtantly, and without the leaſt Objection or Conſideration, agreed to it; and this Succeſs, or, perhaps, another private Hint, encouraged the ſame Mr *Gore*, together with his Friend Mr *Gulſton*, to offer another Propoſal of the ſame ſqueezing Nature to the Treaſury on the 13th of *May* following, in theſe Words, 'That they are willing to furniſh their Bills of Exchange on *Amſterdam* in equal Proportions, for all ſuch Sums as ſhall be wanting from Time to Time, to be remitted on Account of what remains due to the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* Troops to the 25th of *December* 1741; and for the Pay, and the Extraordinaries of the ſaid Troops for the Year 1742, at the Rate of 10 *Guilders*, 11 *Stivers* and a Half, Current Money of *Amſterdam*, *per* Pound *Sterling*, payable as follows, *viz.* two Thirds in Bills at eight Days

'Sight,

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'ſight, and one Third in Bills at one Month after Date.' Which Propoſal was likewiſe inſtantly agreed to; as if it had been predetermined, that this Gentleman and his Friends ſhould have the Remitting of the publick Money, let their Propoſals be never ſo diſadvantageous to the Publick.

'This Conduct, Sir, was the more extraordinary, becauſe the Secret Committee, of which ſome of the Lords of the Treaſury were Members, was, at that very Time, examining into, and preparing a ſevere Cenſure upon the Conduct of the former Lords Commiſſioners of that Board, for a Contract of the ſame Kind, for furniſhing Bills on *Jamaica*, to pay our Troops in the *Weſt Indies*. And I cannot help obſerving, that in the Report of that Committee *, there is a ſevere Cenſure upon the Treaſury's entering into any ſuch Contract upon the good Faith of the Propoſers only, with an Ignorance, real or affected, of the Value of the Exchange, and not endeavouring to ſupply the Defect of Knowledge, by admitting Propoſals from any other Merchant; and yet the very Men concerned in drawing up this Cenſure, were, at that very Time, committing the ſame very Faults, and, if poſſible, in a more flagrant Manner; for as there is more Trafficke, and many more Dealers in Exchange, between *Holland* and *London*, than between *Jamaica* and *London*, the Lords of the Treaſury had more Reaſon to invite Bidders, and might more eaſily have known the Current Value of Exchange. Nay, it is hardly poſſible they could be ignorant of it, becauſe it is printed and publiſhed twice every Week at *London*, in a Paper called *Caſtaign*'s Courſe of Exchange, and thoſe Papers regularly and carefully filled up in the Treaſury-Office.

'I ſhall grant, indeed, Sir, that the publick Fraud, for I can call it by no other Name, was not upon every Hundred Pound ſo great in this laſt Caſe as in the former; but if it had been carry'd on as at firſt intended, and if it be true as is ſuppoſed, that the Troops we are to maintain, and the Subſidies we are to pay abroad, during the War, will coſt us 1,800,000 *l.* a Year, the Fraud upon the Whole would have been much greater; for it would have amounted to very near 45,000 *l.* or, at leaſt, to very near 27,000 *l.* a Year; becauſe the remitting of the Money would have coſt

* See the Farther Report of the Secret Committee, P. 22. in Vol. XIII. 'That it ſeem'd a determin'd Point to ſhut out Information, even 'when it ſeem'd to obtrude it ſelf upon him, from the very Offices 'ſubject to his [the Earl of Orford's] Inſpection.

coſt us near two and a half *per Cent.* more than it coſt us in the War during the late Queen's Reign; and the Example of the Lord *Godolphin*, at that Time, renders the Conduct of our preſent Lords of the Treaſury, upon this Occaſion, the leſs excuſable. That noble Lord knew the Diſadvantage of the Publick's contracting with a Merchant to remit the publick Money for any Term; becauſe, when the Exchange is low, it is a Diſadvantage to the Publick to make any ſuch Contract; and when the Exchange is high, no Merchant will contract with the Publick for any Term, at the then Current Rate of Exchange. For this Reaſon, with regard to the Money ſent to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and to the Duke of *Savoy*, now King of *Sardinia*, that noble Lord took Care that freſh Propoſals ſhould be given in, and a new Contract made, for every particular Remittance; and with regard to the Remittances to *Holland*, he made a Contract in the Year 1704, with Sir *Henry Furneſe*, to furniſh his Bills of Exchange for all ſuch Sums of Money as the Publick ſhould have Occaſion to remit to *Holland*, at ſuch Rate of Exchange as ſhould, at each reſpective Time, be the Current, for a Premium of Eleven Shillings *per Cent.* only; ſo that the Publick was, in ſome Meaſure, its own Merchant, and was to be a Gainer by the Riſe of the Exchange. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'But our preſent Lords of the Treaſury were ſo far from following this Example, that they agreed to ſuch a Contract as no Man would have had the Aſſurance to offer, if proper Notice had been given to the Dealers in Exchange to come in with their Propoſals. Nay, Sir, ſo far was the Treaſury from giving any ſuch Notice, that they ſeem to have induſtriouſly concealed their having Occaſion for remitting Money abroad, leſt ſome Dealer ſhould come in, and, by his Propoſals, render inexcuſable, or rather criminal, their giving ſuch a lucrative Jobb to Mr *Gore*. However, the Secret at laſt came out: The Embarkation of our Troops divulged it, whether they would or no; and the Dealers in Exchange being then aſſured, that the Publick would have Occaſion for remitting Money to *Holland* for maintaining thoſe Troops, Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, who have a Houſe of as great Credit as any in *London*, and who correſpond with Houſes of as good Credit as any in *Amſterdam*, preſented to the Treaſury a Memorial, by which they acquainted their Lordſhips, that they were ready, and deſirous to make Propoſals for remitting what Money might be neceſſary for the Payment of his Majeſty's Troops in *Flanders*,

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on Terms very advantageous for his Majeſty's Service, and would give good Security, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary; and, at the ſame Time, intimated, that their Propoſals would be to remit the Money at the Rate of 10 *Guilders* 16 *Stivers* for a Pound *Sterling*.

'This being, Sir, a Propoſal more beneficial for the Publick, by two and a half *per Cent.* than that offer'd by Mr *Gore*, one would have thought, that their Lordſhips ſhould have taken ſome Notice of it, at leaſt ſo far as to make uſe of it for inducing Mr *Gore* not to take ſuch a monſtrous Advantage of the Publick as they had agreed to give him; but ſo far otherwiſe, that upon the 10th of *June*, when this Memorial was read at the Board, they anſwer directly, 'That they cannot take theſe Propoſals into Conſideration, 'having already agreed with Mr *John Gore* for making the 'ſaid Remittances for that Campaign.' This was ſomething very extraordinary; but when we conſider the Agreement they had made with Mr *Gore*, it will appear amazing: They had made no other Contract with him, other than ſimply agreeing to his Propoſal of the 29th of *April*, as I have before mentioned. What was that Propoſal? It was to give his Bills for ſuch Sums as ſhould be wanting for the Service for the Troops to be ſent abroad, without ſpecifying any Time. Therefore it could be meant only to extend to the firſt Remittance; and if Mr *Gore* had by the firſt Remittance found it to be a hard Bargain, which it was indeed impoſſible he ſhould, he would have inſiſted upon it, that he meant no more, and would have had a Right to have declared off. After the firſt Remittance, therefore, both Parties were at Liberty to withdraw from the Agreement; and this their Lordſhips ſhould have declared to Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, and ſhould have invited them to make their Propoſals for the next Remittance. This, I ſay, their Lordſhips ſhould have done, if they had reſolved to ſay what was true, or to do what was right.

'But ſuppoſe, that this Propoſal of Mr *Gore*'s could have been underſtood to mean for any certain Time to come. It muſt be underſtood to mean for that Campaign, or for a Year certain, as Mr *Gore* afterwards pretended he underſtood it, and as Meſſ *Gore* and *Gulſton* expreſs'd themſelves in their Propoſal of the 13th of *May*, relating to the *Danes* and *Heſſians*; or it muſt be underſtood to mean as long as thoſe Troops ſhould remain abroad. If the laſt, it was ſuch a Contract as the Lords of the Treaſury had no Power to make; and if they had, to make a Contract for ſuch a long Time at

ſuch

ſuch a low Price, would have been a moſt criminal Breach of their Truſt. On the other Hand, if they underſtood it ſo as to mean for that Campaign only, which they at firſt certainly did, as appears from their Anſwers to Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, or for a Year certain, they ſhould have explained themſelves fully to Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, and encourag'd them to return at the proper Time with Propoſals for the next Campaign, or the enſuing Year: They ſhould not, certainly, have diſmiſs'd them with ſuch a ſhort and blunt Anſwer, as might have diſcouraged them, or any other Perſon that had heard of their Treatment, from ever coming to make any new Propoſal; ſo that they ſeemed reſolv'd, that nothing ſhould induce them to leſſen or diſcontinue the beneficial Bargain they had given to their Favourite; for, as I have ſaid, they did not, at leaſt as a Board, ſo much as try to make uſe of this Propoſal for getting more beneficial Terms from Mr *Gore*.

'However, Sir, ſome of them in their private Capacity, or, I believe, ſomebody elſe, for in this whole Affair they ſeem to have been under the Direction of one of their Servants, I ſay, that I believe ſomebody ſpoke to Mr *Gore* upon the Subject, and adviſed him to offer better Terms. Accordingly, on the 27th of *July*, Mr *Gore*, as it were of his own Head, and out of pure Generoſity to his Country, attended the Treaſury with a Memorial, which they very improperly call a Propoſal, in theſe Terms: 'Whereas he is 'under an Agreement with your Lordſhips to furniſh his 'Bills on *Amſterdam* for the Payment of the *Britiſh* Troops 'in *Flanders*, at ten Guilders eleven Stivers and a half *per* 'Pound Sterling; and now judging the Exchange is likely 'to keep up, and may probably be ſupported, he is now 'willing to allow ten Guilders thirteen Stivers *per* Pound 'Sterling, not doubting, in caſe the Rate of Exchange 'ſhould decline, that your Lordſhips upon Application will 'give him Relief.'

'Mighty generous, Sir, to ſerve the Publick at two and a half *per Cent.* extraordinary Profit, when another equally capable offered to ſerve it at one *per Cent.* However, this Act of Generoſity, ſmall as it is, I believe, we ſhould never have heard of, if the Lords of the Treaſury, or their Director, had not been, by the Propoſal of Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, made to apprehend, that their Conduct in this Affair might be brought under the Conſideration of this Houſe. By this Act of Generoſity they thought they had ſecured themſelves againſt our Cenſure, and by the ſhort An-

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ſwer given to Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, they thought they had prevented their diſturbing them in their Career of Jobb-Work with any more troubleſome Propoſals; but ſo deſirous were thoſe Gentlemen of ſerving their Country, or ſo ſenſible of the Profits to be made by the Bargain, even upon the advanc'd Terms they had offer'd, that their Lordſhips were diſappointed in the latter Part of their Expectations, for, *Oct.* 26, thoſe two Gentlemen preſented a new Memorial to their Lordſhips in theſe Words: 'My Lords, 'about four Months ago we had the Honour to acquaint 'your Lordſhips, that we were ready and deſirous to make 'Propoſals for remitting what Money might be neceſſary 'for the Payment of his Majeſty's Troops in *Flanders*, and 'were then told, your Lordſhips would have readily receiv-'ed them, but that thoſe Remittances were already agreed 'for, for that Campaign; whence, we hope, we may con-'clude, it will not be diſagreeable, that we now take the 'Liberty to offer to ſupply your Lordſhips, with whatever 'Sum may be wanted for the publick Service, for a Year 'to come, or to the End of 1743, either at a certain Courſe 'of Exchange, or at a certain Rate, for Commiſſion, Bro-'keridge, Poſtage of Letters, and Riſk of Bills, on Terms 'much more advantageous to the Publick, than it has ever 'been ſerv'd upon, at leaſt for many Years paſt. We are 'likewiſe ready to furniſh your Lordſhips with whatever 'Money may be required at any other Place, on Terms e-'qually advantageous; and we flatter ourſelves, that from 'the Nature of our Correſpondence, none are more capable 'of ſerving your Lordſhips and the Publick, in a Buſineſs of 'this Kind, than your Lordſhips humble Servants.'

Theſe, Sir, are the Words of their ſecond Memorial: If any Gentleman thinks I have not read or repeated them faithfully, he may have the Memorial read at the Table, from the Copy deliver'd in by the ſaid Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* upon their Examination.—— This Memorial, I ſay, was deliver'd into the Treaſury upon the 26th of *October*, but no Notice was ever taken of it at that Board, nor of any Propoſal Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* had ever made, except in the improper and prepoſterous Manner I ſhall now beg Leave to take Notice of.

'By the Conſtitution of our Government, Sir, the Paymaſter General is but a Clerk or Officer under the Board of Treaſury, and bound to obey ſuch Orders and Directions as he receives from them; therefore, all Petitions, Memorials, and Propoſals, relating to the publick Money-Affairs, are preſented

preſented to that Board, and after conſidering them, they iſſue their Orders to their inferior Officers, of whom, as I have ſaid, the Paymaſter is one. But Things have lately, it ſeems, changed their Courſe, and the Paymaſter directs inſtead of being directed. This, it ſeems, even Mr *Gore* and his Friends had not found out 'till after the Diſſolution of the Secret Committee; for their Memorials or Propoſals of *April* the 29th, *May* the 13th, and *July* the 27th, were all preſented to the Board of Treaſury; but as they are Adepts in State Affairs, and know better than moſt others who are the chief Directors, they ſoon found out the Secret, and inſtead of applying to the Board of the Treaſury for Contracts to remit the publick Money abroad, they applied firſt to the Paymaſter-General of the Forces. This Secret, as appears from the Minutes of the Treaſury, was, it ſeems, firſt diſcover'd by Meſſ. *Burrel* and *Briſtow*, whoſe Names are often mentioned in the Report of the Secret Committee, on Account of the famous *Jamaica* Contract; and their Example was follow'd by Mr *Gore* and his Friends; for in the Beginning of *January* laſt, they preſented ſeveral Memorials or Propoſals to the Paymaſter-General, for making Remittances for the Service of our own Forces in *Flanders*, the *Heſſian* Forces, and the *Hanoverians* in our Pay; every one of which was for giving Bills at ten Guilders thirteen Stivers Current Money of *Amſterdam* for a Pound Sterling. But as the Paymaſter could do nothing in this Affair by himſelf alone, as he was by our Forms oblig'd to make uſe at leaſt of the Names of the Lords of the Treaſury, he preſented a Memorial to that Board on the 4th of *January*, with theſe Propoſals annex'd; and next Day they referr'd them back to his Conſideration, together with the Memorial preſented *June* the 10th, by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*; but they took Care not ſo much as to refer that preſented by the ſame Gentlemen on the 26th of *October*; for if they had, it would have made it very difficult for the Paymaſter to report in Favour of Mr *Gore* and his Friends.

'However, tho' this Memorial of the 26th of *October* was not referr'd, yet Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* were ſo juſt to themſelves as to attend the Paymaſter on the 7th, and preſented to him a Propoſal in theſe Terms, 'That 'they are ready to furniſh, at *Amſterdam*, all the Money 'that may be neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, at the 'Rate of ten Guilders ſixteen Stivers Current Money for the 'Pound Sterling, for ſuch a Term of Time as Contracts of 'that Nature are generally made, the Value of their Bills

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'being paid them, in the ſame Manner as it has been paid 'to the preſent Contractors, or is cuſtomary in the like 'Caſe; and that if any other Perſon makes Propoſals for a 'fixed Time, they are ready to do ſo too.'

'But, Sir, as theſe two Gentlemen were by Experience convinc'd, that they had the private Inclinations, I ſhall not ſay the private Intereſt, of the Treaſury Board as well as Paymaſter to combat in this Affair, they knew, that nothing could procure them Succeſs in their Application for this Jobb of remitting the publick Money, but their preventing, by their Propoſals, ſo much as an Excuſe for giving a partial Preference to their Competitors. For this Purpoſe, therefore, upon the 11th of the ſame Month, (of *January*) they preſented to the Lords of the Treaſury the following Memorial.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

'On *Friday* laſt we deliver'd to the Paymaſter General a 'Propoſal for remitting to *Amſterdam* all the Money that 'may be neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, in the ſame 'Manner, as we are inform'd, the former Remitters have 'lately done, *without ſaying for what preciſe Time.* But it 'being intimated to us Yeſterday, that one of thoſe Gentlemen had ſaid, That he underſtood it *for a Year*, if that is 'the Time your Lordſhips deſire to receive Propoſals for, '*we have one ready to deliver*, or elſe deſire to abide by 'that deliver'd to the Paymaſter General.

It has been proved at your Bar, Sir, that this Memorial was preſented to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, before the Paymaſter came there that Day, and conſequently before his Report, which is dated that Day, was deliver'd to them, or could be taken into Conſideration. Nay, the Commiſſioners themſelves have not taken upon them to ſay, that this Memorial was not read to them before the Paymaſter's Report. Was it not then their Duty to call for the Memorialiſts Propoſals for a Year certain, which they ſaid *they had ready to deliver*, before they took the Report into Conſideration, or at leaſt before they came to any Reſolution upon it? Was not this the more neceſſary, becauſe the chief Reaſon given in the Report for preferring Mr *Gore*'s Propoſal was in theſe Words, 'But as they (the Memorialiſts) pro-'poſe to make Trial for only two or three Remittances, at 'the Rate of ten Guilders ſixteen Stivers *per* Pound Sterling, 'without fixing any Continuance of Time, or Centainty of 'the Sum, they will remit at that Rate.' Surely this made it abſolutely neceſſary for the Lords of the Treaſury to call

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for the Propoſal which the Memorialiſts ſaid they were ready to deliver upon that very Day; becauſe by that Propoſal the Memorialiſts would certainly have obviated this Objection; and as their Propoſal was the higheſt and moſt profitable for the publick Service, it was the Duty of the Lords of the Treaſury to give them an Opportunity to obviate every Objection that could be made againſt them, eſpecially as they then appear'd to be ready to anſwer every avow'd Objection that could be made againſt employing them in the Affair of Remittances; for by what they were then to offer, they were to fix the Time, and aſcertain the Sums they were to engage for; and the Security they had before offered was a full Anſwer to every Objection that could be made againſt their Ability, or the Ability of their Correſpondents at *Amſterdam*.

'But ſo far were theſe Lords of the Treaſury from calling for the Propoſals which Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* ſaid they were ready to deliver, that they do not appear to have taken the leaſt Notice of their Memorial: Their receiving of ſuch a Memorial is not ſo much as mention'd in the Minutes of their Proceedings; and upon that very Day we find the following Minute entered in their Journals:

January 11, 1742-3.

'The Lords having taken into their Conſideration a Report dated this Day, and made to them by the Right Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; Paymaſter of his Majeſty's Guards, Garriſons, and Land Forces, concerning Remittances, their Lordſhips, on mature Deliberation, as well for the Reaſons ſtated in the ſame Report, as from the allow'd Ability of the Remitters Correſpondents in *Holland*, and the Contract for the Remittances being for a Time certain, and the Experience they have had of the punctual and effectual Manner in which they have hitherto been carried on, and from the great and irretrievable Detriment it would be to the publick Service, if any Interruption ſhould happen in the Payment of the Forces, by making any Alteration in the Contract at this Time, are of Opinion, it will be for the Intereſt of the Publick to accept the Propoſals therein mention'd of Meſſ. *Gore*, *Gulſton*, and *Poyntz*.

'Thus their Lordſhips, whatever they may ſay of their mature Deliberation, determine, in a Manner inſtantaneouſly, upon receiving the Paymaſter's Report, as if they had been oblig'd to yield a blind Obedience to the Report of their Servant: But why ſhould I ſay a blind Obedience, Sir? For as the moſt material Fact upon which the Report was founded

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founded was contradicted, I may say falsify'd, by the Memorial then before them, it must be allow'd, that with their Eyes open they determin'd against the Interest of their Country and the Duty of their Office. Nor can it be said that they were under any Necessity to determine in this precipitate Manner: If a great Remittance had been to be made that Day, or the next, it might have afforded them some Excuse; but so far otherwise, that Mess. *Gore*, *Gulston*, and *Poyntz*, were not inform'd of their Lordships having agreed to their Proposal, till the 13th of *January*, which shews, that upon the 11th there was no Necessity for their coming to an immediate Resolution.

'Having now, Sir, impartially stated the Facts, with such Observations as I thought necessary for setting the Affair in its true and genuine Light, I shall next take Notice, that if the publick Loss, occasioned by this Preference given to Mr *Gore*, had been inconsiderable, it might have been excused by the Experience the Publick had of his Punctuality, or it might have left Room for a little Partiality towards a Friend; but this Conduct becomes quite inexcusable, when we consider the Loss thereby sustained; and as many Gentlemen may not have considered this Loss, I shall beg Leave to explain it, and to state it in a clear Light. I have already shewn, that there is hardly a Possibility of the Exchange between *Holland* and this falling below ten Guilders sixteen Stivers, because if it should, the Remitters or the *Jews* will certainly send over our foreign Gold and Silver, or melt down and send over our coined Gold and Silver, in order to bring the Exchange up again to that Standard; and if we had neither foreign nor coined Gold or Silver to send over, which, I fear, may be the Case if the War continues but a few Years, it will be allowed, I believe, that we must then instantly put an End to maintaining any Armies or Princes upon the Continent. It was therefore ridiculous to agree with any Remitter for less than ten Guilders sixteen Stivers per Pound Sterling, even tho' it had been resolved on to take this Method, and not to follow the Method taken by the Lord *Godolphin* in the late War, for supplying our Troops and subsidiary Princes upon the Continent; but as the Exchange, at the Time these Contracts were made, was but at ten Guilders eighteen Stivers, or as the Paymaster himself states it in his Report, upwards of ten Guilders seventeen Stivers per Pound Sterling, we ought certainly to have followed the Lord *Godolphin*'s Method, which was to agree with the Remitters to remit at the Current

rent Courſe of Exchange, for ſuch a Premium *per Cent.* as we could agree for. This Method, I ſay, we ought to have followed, becauſe we knew, that as long as we could have Occaſion for any Remittances, the Exchange could not fall above one or two Stivers in a Pound Sterling below what it was then at, and by ſending now and then a Man of War over to *Holland* or *Flanders*, with a large Quantity of foreign Gold or Silver upon the publick Account, we might have kept the Exchange always at ten Guilders eighteen Stivers, or perhaps raiſed it to eleven Guilders per Pound Sterling. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'If this Method had been reſolved on, and proper Notice given to the Merchants, I am perſuaded, Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, according to their Propoſal of *October* 26, or ſome other Remitter, would have undertaken the Service, at the Rate of one half *per Cent.* for Commiſſion, Brokeridge, Poſtage of Letters, and Riſk of Bills. This, I ſay, Sir, I am perſuaded of, becauſe in the Year 1704, Sir *Henry Furneſe* undertook the Service for 11 *s. per Cent.* and as the Buſineſs of Exchange is now better underſtood, and followed by a greater Number of Merchants, than it was at that Time, the Remitters muſt content themſelves with a leſs Profit; for when a Remitter remits for a private Perſon at the Current Rate of Exchange, we are not to ſuppoſe, he has no Profit, nor any Thing for Commiſſion, Brokeridge, Poſtage of Letters, and Riſk of Bills: Even at the Current Rate of Exchange, and without any Premium, he has certainly an Allowance for his Riſk and Expence, and ſome Profit for his Trouble; conſequently the Premium he gets from the Publick, for remitting the publick Money, ought to be conſidered as a nett additional Profit, and tho' much leſs than an Half *per Cent.* muſt certainly be a very great and deſirable Profit, when ſuch large Sums are to be remitted. Therefore, I think, I have Reaſon to conclude, that if our preſent Lords of the Treaſury had followed the Method chalked out to them by the Lord *Godolphin*, they might have found Remitters of the beſt Credit, that would have engaged to have remitted all the publick Money at the Current Prince of Exchange for a Half *per Cent.* And as we muſt neceſſarily have a Number of Guard Ships in the Channel, they might have taken Care to keep the current Price of Exchange always at or above 10 Guilders 18 Stivers for the Pound *Sterl.* by ſending over, when Occaſion required, in one of our Men of War, ſuch a Quantity of our Gold and Silver as might appear neceſſary for keeping up or raiſing

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raiſing the Price of Exchange. This, I ſay, they might have done, as long as we had any Gold or Silver left; and no Man will ſuppoſe we can any longer ſupport either Troops or Princes upon the Continent.

'Taking it then, Sir, for granted, that all the publick Money might have been remitted at Ten Guilders Eighteen Stivers for the Pound *Sterl.* with a Half *per Cent.* to the Remitter as a Premium, let us compute what the publick Loſs would have amounted to during the laſt Year, and the enſuing, if the Treaſury had proceeded upon the firſt Contract they made with Mr *Gore*, at Ten Guilders eleven and a Half Stivers for the Pound *Sterl.* which is ſix and half Stivers Loſs upon every Pound *Sterl.* Every Gentleman that will be at the Pains to calculate, may ſee, that this is at the Rate of above 3 *per Cent.* Loſs to the Publick, from which we may deduct the Half *per Cent.* Premium that in the other Method was to have been paid to the Remitter; ſo that the nett Loſs to the Publick would have been above 2 ½ *per Cent.* This, 'tis true, may to ſome Gentlemen appear ſo trifling, as not to be worth their Notice; but if we conſider the vaſt Sums that were remitted laſt Year, and are to be remitted in the enſuing, the Loſs upon the whole will amount to ſuch a Sum, as even a Lord of the Treaſury may think it worth his while to take Notice of: And as, in this Caſe, the Loſs of the Publick is the Gain of the Remitter, I am perſuaded, we never had a Lord of the Treaſury, that would not have thought it worth his while to have a Share of ſuch a Gain.

'To compute, Sir, what this Loſs to the Publick and Gain to the Remitter would have amounted to upon the whole, we muſt conſider, that the Expence of our 16,000 National Troops in *Flanders*, for the enſuing Year, is eſtimated at about 535,000 *l.* to which I ſhall add one Third, or 178,333 *l.* as the Expence of maintaining them there for ſome Part of laſt Year, being in the whole 713,333 *l.* The Expence of the *Hanoverians* for laſt Year and the enſuing is eſtimated at 657,888 *l.* The Expence of the *Heſſians* for the enſuing Year is eſtimated at 161,607 *l.* and for the laſt Year their Expence was eſtimated at 194,916 *l.* being in the whole 356,523 *l.* And the Expence of the *Danes* for laſt Year was 98,345 *l.* Theſe four Articles amount in the whole to 1,826,089 *l.* to which I muſt add the 500,000 *l.* advanced laſt Year to the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Sardinia*, and the ſame for the Year enſuing; becauſe it has been whiſpered, that Methods have been

been taken for recommending to them the ſame Remitter, who will probably inſiſt upon having Terms from them equally advantageous with thoſe he has from his native Country; and the Loſs of our Allies in the War may in ſome Meaſure be called the Loſs of this Nation, or at leaſt it is a Gain to the Remitter, let him have it from whom he will. Theſe two Sums added to the former make 2,826,089 *l.* and if to theſe I add the caſual Expence of Waggon-Money, Forage-Money, *Douceurs*, and the like, which muſt be remitted abroad, I muſt reckon that all the Sums remitted, or to be remitted, for laſt Year and this, amount to a round Sum of 3,000,000 *l.* And 2 ½ *per Cent.* Loſs upon this Sum amounts to 75,000 *l.* which is, in my Opinion, a Loſs by much too conſiderable to be neglected or deſpiſed by this Nation in its preſent Circumſtances; and as this whole Sum, and a great deal more, is all clear Gain to the Remitter, it is a Gain which any Subject in *Britain* may think it worth his while to have a Share of. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742

'I ſhall not ſay, Sir, that the Paymaſter, or any preſent Lords of the Treaſury, would accept of any Share; but the Report of the Secret Committee muſt convince us, that when ſuch a profitable Contract is to be given, there are Methods of letting ſome Friends of theirs into a Share of the Profits, without their advancing any Money, running any Riſk, or being at any Trouble; and the unaccountable Neglect of all the Memorials offered by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* afford ſome Suſpicion, that what appears from that Report to have been practiſed under the former Adminiſtration, has already been practiſed under this; for if any ſuch underhand Bargains were in View, I do not wonder at their giving no Notice to the Remitters in the City to ſend in Propoſals; nor do I wonder at their neglecting and contriving Reaſons for refuſing the advantageous Propoſals made by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, who certainly deſerv'd more than Mr *Gore* the Favour of the Publick, becauſe by their interfering and making Propoſals, the Publick got a Stiver and a Half per *Pound Sterl.* more from Mr *Gore* than its Servants, the Lords of the Treaſury, had ſtipulated for it, and more, I am convinced, that Mr *Gore* would ever have given, had it not been for theſe Propoſals of *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*: The Publick was therefore very much obliged to them, becauſe by their interfering it ſaved about two Thirds *per Cent.* and conſequently loſt but about 70,000*l.* inſtead of 75,000*l.* as I have before computed.

'If there were any ſuch underhand Dealings, or Lettings in

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in of Friends, as are mentioned in the Report with regard to the *Jamaica* Remittances, it was a moſt audacious as well as criminal Tranſaction, becauſe it was carryed on at the very Time the Secret Committee of this Houſe was inquiring into and cenſuring ſuch Tranſactions: But ſuppoſe, Sir, there was no underhand Bargains: Suppoſe Mr *Gore* and his Friends had no ſecret or concealed Partners in the profitable Jobb given to them, yet the Conduct of the Lords of the Treaſury in not giving Notice to the Remitters, and in refuſing the higheſt Bidder, occaſioned then ſuch a Loſs to the Publick, as deſerves at leaſt the Cenſure of this Houſe; and if it ſhould eſcape Cenſure, I may propheſy, that it will in future Times be of infinite Diſadvantage to the Publick, becauſe it will be a Precedent for all our other Boards to follow the ſame clandeſtine Method of making publick Contracts, and it will prevent any Merchant or Tradeſman's attempting to offer any Propoſals to the Publick, or to outbid the Perſon to whom the Board ſeems inclined to give the Jobb; ſo that for the future, every publick Contract will be made a Piece of mere Jobbwork, and all publick Services will not only be charged at an extravagant Rate, but alſo moſt negligently or weakly performed; for when the Commiſſioners, or their Friends, become *Socii Criminis* with the Performer or Undertaker, by going Sharers with him in the Profits, it cannot be expected, that they will look narrowly into, much leſs find Fault with the Manner in which he performs his Contract.

'This, Sir, would be a moſt fatal Effect: An Effect which every Man that has the leaſt Regard for his Country or Poſterity, will certainly endeavour to prevent; and therefore I ſhall wave moving for any further or more particular Inquiry into this Tranſaction, however neceſſary it may be, in order to diſcover whether this Mr *Gore* has any concealed and criminal Sharers in this lucrative Jobb: This, I ſay, I ſhall wave, notwithſtanding the great Appearance of Guilt, leſt by aiming at more than is neceſſary, I ſhould miſs of what I think abſolutely neceſſary for preventing the Ruin of my Country. I ſhall aim at no Diſcovery or Puniſhment: I deſire only a ſaving Cenſure, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with moving, 'That the Lords Commiſſioners of the Trea-
'ſury contracting at firſt with Mr *Gore* for remitting abroad
'the publick Money, without having previouſly given Notice
'to other Merchants to bring in Propoſals for that Purpoſe,
'was a Neglect of their Duty, and contrary to the right
'and ancient Practice of that Office; and that their after-

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'wards rejecting the Propoſals of Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muil-* An. 16. Geo. II.
'*man*, who offered to remit all the publick Money at the 1742.
'Rate of 10 Guilders 16 Stivers per Pound *Sterl.* and accept-
'ing the Propoſals of Meſſ. *Gore*, *Gulſton*, and *Poyntz*, who
'offered but 10 Guilders 13 Stivers per Pound *Sterl.* was a
'Breach of the Duty of their Office, a conſiderable Loſs to
'the Publick, and a great Detriment to the Publick Ser-
'vice.'

To this it was anſwered by Mr *Winnington* to the follow-ing Purpoſe:

Sir,

'When the Affair now before us was firſt mentioned, it Mr Winnington.
was introduced with ſo much Solemnity, and ſo many Papers called for, that I expected ſome extraordinary Diſcoveries. I expected nothing leſs, than to hear, that the Publick had been robb'd of a large Sum of Money, and that ſome of our Chief Officers had been concerned in that Robbery; but now, after the Affair has been thoroughly ſifted, after we have examined all the Witneſſes, and had all the Papers laid before us, that can give us any Light into this Tranſaction, and after we have ſpent two Days in the Inquiry, which, in my Opinion, might have been otherwiſe much better employed, what have we diſcovered? Why, we have diſcovered, that in a moſt neceſſary, important, and difficult Piece of Publick Service, the Lords of the Treaſury choſe to employ a Man whoſe Abilities and Conduct they had Experience of, rather than a new Undertaker, who offered to perform the Service at a trifling leſs Expence. If this is not *Parturiunt Montes*, I never knew any Thing that deſerved the Name.

'I ſhall readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that when any publick Service is to be performed by caſual Undertakers, it is uſual and proper for thoſe that are intruſted by the Publick to make ſuch Contracts; I ſay it is both uſual and proper for them to receive Propoſals from all thoſe who are willing to undertake the Jobb; and when the Service is not publickly foreſeen, I believe, it is cuſtomary to give ſome ſort of previous Intimation to thoſe from whom any Propoſal for that Service may be expected; but it is neither cuſtomary nor neceſſary to give ſuch a previous Intimation in every Caſe whatever, nor are the Truſtees for the Publick obliged in all Caſes to prefer that Propoſal which at firſt View may appear to be moſt advantageous to the Publick. When the Service is publickly foreſeen, when every

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one that looks into a News Paper knows that the Publick will ſoon want ſuch a Service to be performed, it is not neceſſary to give any Sort of previous Intimation, which was the Caſe with regard to the Affair now before us. There was not, I believe, a Merchant upon 'Change who had not heard of our deſigning to ſend ſome of our Troops to *Flanders*; and no one could be ſo ſtupid as not to foreſee, that if Troops were to be ſent thither, they muſt be paid there; and, conſequently, that the Publick would want to remit Money for that Purpoſe. In this Caſe, therefore, it was needleſs for the Treaſury to give Notice to any Perſon, that ſuch a Service would be wanted; and if no Propoſal for that Service was offered beſide that of Mr *Gore*'s, it was becauſe there were very few Merchants in *London*, who thought themſelves equal to the Undertaking.

'We cannot therefore, Sir, find Fault with, much leſs paſs a ſolemn Cenſure upon the Conduct of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, for not advertiſing in the Gazette, or ſending one of their Officers to proclaim upon 'Change, that the Government would ſoon have Occaſion to remit large Sums to *Holland* or *Flanders*. On the contrary, if they had done ſo, their Conduct would, in my Opinion, have deſerved to be cenſured; becauſe it would, very probably, have produced a Combination among the Dealers in Bills of Exchange both at *London* and in *Holland*, to run it down as low as poſſible, in order that they might have no Opportunity of making the more advantageous Bargain with our Government, for ſupplying them with Money in *Holland*, to pay the Army that was to be ſent to *Flanders*; and the Danger of ſuch a Combination, after it came to be publickly and certainly known, that we were to ſend Troops to *Flanders*, muſt ſhew, that it was prudent and right in the Lords of the Treaſury to make a Contract for ſupplying thoſe Troops as ſoon as poſſible, and to make that Contract at a certain Rate of Exchange, and not as it was made by the Lord *Godolphin* in the Year 1704, at an uncertain Rate of Exchange, but at a certain Premium *per Cent.* for all the Money to be remitted. Such a Contract may hereafter be made, when the Courſe of Exchange becomes a little ſettled, after the Shock it muſt receive by our beginning to take a Share in the War; but to have made ſuch a Contract at the very Beginning, or rather before the Commencement of the War, would not have been prudent, nor would it have been purſuant to the Example of the Lord *Godolphin*; for he took Care not to make any ſuch Contract at the Beginning;

ning: The War had been carried on for two Years before he thought of making such a one, and then the Course of Exchange had returned to its proper Equilibrium, after the Shock it had received by our first sending our Troops to *Holland*, which was in 1701, and in the Beginning of 1702. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'To comprehend this Matter clearly, Sir, we must consider, that the Business of Exchange is a Sort of Trade, and, consequently, must vary according to the Demand and the Quantity brought to Market to be sold at any particular Place. It is a Sort of Price for Money at a certain Place, and like the Price of Corn, may be high at one Market, at the same Time that it happens to be very low at another. This Difference may be occasioned by many Accidents, and may upon some Emergencies become very considerable, but cannot long continue; because as the intrinsick Value is the the same in all Places, Merchants will soon find out where the Price is high, and will bring such Quantities to that Market, as will soon reduce the Price to the usual Standard. With Respect to all Sorts of Commodities, and in every Market, the Quantity necessary for supplying the Market, and the Demand necessary for buying or taking off that Quantity, are in ordinary Cases pretty well known, and generally keep pretty near equal. But when, by any unforeseen Accident, the former is greatly increased, the Price must fall at that Market, and for that Market-Day at least; and if, by any unforeseen Accident, the latter should be greatly encreased, the Price must rise, and must continue high till the Demand be lessened, or the Quantity usually brought to that Market encreased.

'Upon this Principle, Sir, which is infallible, let us consider the Consequences of our sending our Troops to *Flanders*: It necessarily increases our Demand for ready Money in *Holland*, and as it is a new, an extraordinary, and an unforeseen Demand at that Market, it must raise the Price of that Commodity, and that Price must continue 'till Merchants have found out Methods for encreasing the Quantity of that Commodity at that Market; consequently the Price of Exchange must fall considerably at first, below what it usually was when we had no such Demand; and therefore it was a prudent Step in the Lords of our Treasury to enter into a Contract before sending our Troops abroad, and to settle, by that Contract, a certain Rate of Exchange, in order to prevent the Publick's suffering by the Increase of the Demand, and consequently of the Price of ready Money in *Holland*. If they had not done so I am convinced, the Course

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of Exchange would have fallen much below what it has been at for many Years paſt; but this they prevented by their prudent Conduct, becauſe the Merchants they contracted with, had thereby timely Notice, and they took Care to encreaſe the Quantity for ſupplying the Market, even before the Demand began to encreaſe; whereas had the Lords of the Treaſury not previouſly made ſuch a Contract, or had they made ſuch a Contract as Lord *Godolphin* did in 1704, no Merchant would have taken Care to encreaſe the Quantity for ſupplying the Market in *Holland*, and conſequently the Publick might have loſt very conſiderably by the raiſing the Price of ready Money there and the ſinking of the Courſe of Exchange.

'But beſides the Courſe of Exchange, Sir, the *Agio* of the Bank in *Holland* will certainly be affected by our ſending our Troops to *Flanders*. To explain what is meant by the *Agio* of the Bank, I muſt obſerve, that in *Holland* there is a Difference between what is call'd Bank Money and Current Money. The Value of the former is fix'd and certain, and remains always at the Standard it was at when the Bank was firſt eſtabliſhed, whereas the Value of Current Money riſes and falls in *Holland*, as in other Countries, according to the Fineneſs or Coarſneſs of their Coin; and for this Reaſon moſt of the Bills drawn upon *Holland*, are drawn payable in Bank Money. As the Coin now Current in *Holland* is coarſer than it was when the Bank was eſtabliſhed, therefore Bank Money is better, or of greater Value than Current Money, that is to ſay, one hundred Guilders Bank Money is better, or of greater Value, than one hundred Guilders Current Money, and the Difference between them is call'd the *Agio*, which intrinſically is exactly five *per Cent*. One hundred Guilders Bank Money being intrinſically worth one hundred and five Guilders Current Money; but this *Agio* does not remain always fix'd at its intrinſick Value, becauſe it riſes above or falls below five *per Cent*. according to the Demand for ready Money. In Time of Peace the *Agio* is often above five *per Cent*. becauſe the great Merchants in *Holland*, in the Way of Trade, deal moſtly with one another in Bank Money, or Credit in Bank; but in Time of War, when large Bills are drawn upon them for ſubſiſting Armies, which muſt be paid in ready Money, then the *Agio* falls below five *per Cent*. and the great Draughts made by *France* upon *Holland*, for paying her Armies in *Germany*, and her Subſidies to the Emperor and *Sweden*, has lately reduc'd this *Agio* to four and a half *per Cent*. from whence it

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is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the great Draughts now to be made by us, for paying our Army in *Flanders*, will reduce the *Agio* ſtill lower, which will be an additional Loſs to the Remitter; for 34 *s.* 8 *d.* Bank Money for a Pound Sterling is not ſo much now that the *Agio* is but four and a half *per Cent.* as it would be if the *Agio* were five *per Cent.* An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Another Thing I muſt mention, which will likewiſe, I believe, turn out to the Diſadvantage of the Remitter, is the Price or Premium paid to thoſe who employ themſelves in carrying Foreign Gold or Silver from this Country to *Holland*; for beſides the Freight and Inſurance, they muſt have a Profit as a Reward for their Trouble; and as the Wages of the Workman always riſe when there is a great deal of Work to be done, eſpecially if the Number of the Workmen be diminiſhed, ſo theſe Exporters will probably inſiſt upon a greater Profit, becauſe the Exports will become much larger, and ſuch great Sums muſt ſometimes be exported, as can be truſted with but very few of the common Exporters. To this I muſt add, the Chance of a War with *France*, in which *Holland* will probably be likewiſe involv'd; and if this ſhould happen, both the Freight and Inſurance between *Holland* and this will riſe very conſiderably, both which will turn out to the Diſadvantage of the Remitter, becauſe large Quantities of Gold and Silver muſt be ſent over to anſwer our Draughts upon *Holland:* When all theſe Chances and Diſadvantages are conſider'd, I believe Mr *Gore*'s Contract will be deemed no ſuch extraordinary Bargain as it has been repreſented; eſpecially if we conſider the Expence he muſt be at in Commiſſion, Brokeridge, Poſtage of Letters, and other Charges, which I reckon, will amount to near one and a half *per Cent.* and his Profit is not above two *per Cent.* even at the then Current Rate of Exchange; ſo that he has but a half *per Cent.* nett Profit, which is the leaſt that can be allow'd for his Trouble, for his Risk of Bills, and for the great Risk he ran of the Exchange ſinking even below what he had agreed to give his Bills at; for if the Exchange has not fallen by the great additional Demand for ready Money in *Holland*, being contrary to the natural Courſe of Things, it can be aſcrib'd to nothing but his Care and Conduct in ſupplying the Market before the Demand began to be felt.

'But the great Outcry, I find, is, another offered to perform the Service at a much leſs Expence to the Publick. Sir, I ſhall be far from ſaying, that Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* were not as capable to perform the Service as Mr *Gore* and his Friends; but the Lords of the Treaſury had no Ex-

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perience of their Performance, and it is certainly their Duty, as well as it is the Duty of every other Officer or Board, to take Care rather to have the publick Service well perform'd than cheaply perform'd, eſpecially thoſe Services upon which the very Being, I may ſay, of the Commonwealth depends. When the Difference in the Expence is very great, or when one Man offers to ſerve the Publick at a remarkable leſs Expence, or cheaper Rate, than another, it is then the Duty of a Board to inquire minutely into the Nature of the Service to be undertaken, for in that Caſe there muſt be Extortion on one Side, or Fraud on the other intended; and if the Price or Profit requir'd by the former appears, upon the ſtricteſt Inquiry, to be but a moderate one, I think, they ought to be vaſtly cautious of engaging with the latter; for it is not to be preſum'd, that any one would ſerve even the Publick for nothing, and much leſs to his own Loſs; and as it is almoſt impoſſible to foreſee all the Frauds which an Undertaker of any publick Service may be guilty of, I ſhould be ſhy of employing a Man whoſe Propoſals ſhew'd that he muſt either cheat himſelf or the Publick.

'In all ſuch Caſes, therefore, Sir, there muſt be a diſcretionary Power left in the Commiſſioners or Officers who are to contract for the Publick, and they may ſometimes have very good Reaſons for rejecting the higheſt Propoſal or Bidder, even when the Difference is very conſiderable; but when the Difference is trifling, as it was in the Caſe now under Conſideration, their having Experience of one Man's Capacity and Conduct, and none of the others, is of itſelf a ſufficient Reaſon for preferring the Man they know, even when the other offers to ſerve at a cheaper Rate; and as the leaſt Failure or Diſappointment in this Service, would have been of the moſt fatal Conſequence, I think, the Lords of the Treaſury were in the right not to allow the Dealers in Exchange, by bidding upon one another, to beat the Price down too low, which they might have done from a too great Avidity of Gain, or from the Hopes that the Publick would give them ſome Relief, if it ſhould afterwards appear, that they had undertaken the Service at a cheaper Rate than it could be faithfully perform'd: This would probably have been the Caſe, if the Propoſals of Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* had been accepted; for as by theſe Propoſals they were to have but two Stivers in a Pound Sterling Profit, which is not one *per Cent.* and as the Charges of Commiſſion, Brokeridge, and Poſtage of Letters, is always computed at near one and a half, they could not have continued for any Time

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to furniſh the Publick with Bills at that Rate, unleſs the Courſe of Exchange had riſen very much in our Favour, which was not to be expected at ſuch a Juncture. They muſt therefore have ſoon come to a new Agreement with the Publick, or they muſt have given over the Buſineſs; and we know by Experience how dangerous it is to change Hands, or to employ many Hands in ſuch a Tranſaction; for by ſo doing our Affairs were brought into very great Confuſion towards the latter End of the laſt War. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Beſides theſe, Sir, and many other publick Reaſons, which I could mention, if it were worth while, the Lords of the Treaſury may have had private Reaſons for preferring the Propoſals of Mr *Gore* and his Friends, tho' lower than thoſe offered by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*: I mean not ſuch private Reaſons as have been inſinuated in this Debate, as if they or ſome of their Friends were to have a Share in the Contract, and that therefore they were willing to make it as profitable as they thought they might ſafely do, I mean ſuch private Reaſons only as relate to the Safety and Service of the Publick; for in all ſuch Caſes they are obliged to enquire ſtrictly into the Character and Conduct of thoſe they are to contract with, and may find ſuch Reaſons for preferring one Man to another, as ought not to be mentioned or communicated to the Publick. I do not, however, affirm, that in this Caſe, they had any ſuch Reaſons: I mention it only to ſhew, how cautious we ought to be of cenſuring the Conduct of great Officers in every Caſe, where there is not a very apparent Neglect or Miſbehaviour, and a remarkable Injury done to the Publick.

'I hope, I have now given ſuch Reaſons as will appear ſufficient againſt our reſolving to paſs any Cenſure upon the Conduct of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, either for their not giving Notice to the Merchants to bring in their Propoſals for remitting abroad the publick Money, or for their preferring the Propoſals of Meſſ. *Gore*, *Gulſton*, and *Poyntz*, to the higher Propoſals of Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*; and next I ſhall obſerve, that it is really, in my Opinion, ſurpriſing, to hear Gentlemen, who certainly attend to, and underſtand the publick Buſineſs; I ſay, it is ſurpriſing to hear ſuch Gentlemen talk of the Loſs the Publick has ſuſtained upon this Occaſion; for, I think, it is demonſtrable, that had the Contract of Meſſ. *Gore*, *Gulſton*, and *Poyntz*, been much lower than it is; had they agreed to give their Bills upon *Holland* at no more than ten Guilders ten Stivers per Pound Sterling, the Publick could

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have ſuſtained no Loſs. Sir, Gentlemen may ſhake their Heads and ſeem amazed, but I ſhall make good what I ſay from the Eſtimates upon your Table, and from what is known to be the common Practice in paying the Army abroad. To begin with the laſt: It is well known, that as ſoon as our Army ſet Foot upon foreign Ground, they are not paid in *Engliſh* Money, but from that Moment begin to be paid in the Current Money of the Country, according to the Rate of Exchange at which the Government has contracted to have the Money remitted. Therefore, if the Government ſhould make a bad Bargain, with regard to the Remittance, it may be a Loſs to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, but it can be no Loſs to the Publick. If Mr *Gore* had given but ten Guilders ten Stivers for the Pound Sterling, it would have been a Loſs to the Officers and Soldiers of our Army, becauſe their Pay abroad would have been leſs by near one and a Half *per Cent.* but the Publick could neither have got nor loſt by the Bargain.

'I ſhall next, Sir, conſider the Caſe of the Money remitted for paying the *Hanoverians*; and here, if Gentlemen will but look upon the Eſtimate, they will ſee, that the Money granted for paying the *Hanoverians* is calculated at ten Guilders ten Stivers per Pound Sterling, and muſt certainly be paid to them at that Rate; for they will inſiſt upon having a Pound Sterling, or the Produce of a Pound Sterling in *Dutch* Money, for every ten Guilders ten Stivers we are obliged to pay them; and, conſequently, our remitting their Money at a higher Rate than ten Guilders ten Stivers *per* Pound Sterling, can be no Advantage to this Nation, nor can our remitting it at a lower Rate than ten Guilders ſixteen or eighteen Stivers, be any Loſs.

'This, Sir, is the Caſe with regard to the Money remitted or to be remitted for the *Hanoverians*; and with regard to the Money that has been remitted, or that may be remitted for the *Daniſh* or *Heſſian* Troops, the Caſe is the very ſame. But what ſurpriſes me moſt is, that the Money remitted, or to be remitted, for paying the Subſidies granted by Parliament to the Queen of *Hungary*, or King of *Sardinia*, ſhould be brought in over Head and Ears, to ſwell the imaginary Loſs, which the Nation is to ſuſtain by this wicked Contract. This, I ſay, is the moſt ſurpriſing, becauſe by Accounts upon our Table it appears, that a great Part of the Subſidies payable to the Queen of *Hungary*, and King of *Sardinia*, were paid in ready Money to their Miniſters here, and the reſt in ſuch Bills as they approved

approved of; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that their Miniſters here would allow themſelves to be directed by any of our Miniſters to go to a particular Remitter, unleſs he was ready to give them his Bills at as high a Rate of Exchange as any other Remitter would agree to. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'From hence, Sir, I think it is evident, that the Publick could have ſuſtained no Loſs, even tho' the Contract made with Mr *Gore* had ſtood at the Rate of Exchange at which it was firſt ſettled; and as to the Argument, or rather Piece of Wit, made uſe of, with reſpect to the Treaſury Board's being under the Direction of one of their own Servants, it will appear to be without any Foundation, when we conſider, that it is the daily Practice of every Board in *England*, when Facts and Circumſtances are to be enquired into, to refer that Inquiry to be made and reported by one or more of their chief Clerks or Servants, and that Report is always made the Foundation of the Board's Reſolution, unleſs a farther Inquiry or Conſideration appear to be neceſſary, which, in this Caſe, there was certainly no Occaſion for, becauſe the Paymaſter, in his Report, ſhewed ſo clearly the Reaſonableneſs of the Propoſals made by Meſſ. *Gore*, *Gulſton*, and *Poyntz*, and the Danger of changing Hands, that it became quite unneceſſary to take into their Conſideration the new Propoſals that Day delivered in by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*. From all which, I muſt be of Opinion, that we have not the leaſt Reaſon to find Fault with any Part of the Conduct of the Lords of the Treaſury in this Tranſaction, and, conſequently, I muſt be againſt the Motion.'

Then *John Bance*, Eſq; ſpoke to the following Effect: Mr Bance.

Sir,

'Whatever the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion may ſay; they muſt be ſenſible, that, in this Debate, we have a very great Advantage, becauſe, it depends upon Figures, which cannot, like Words, be wreſted to diſguiſe the Truth or ſupport a Falſhood, and if they think we have made no material Diſcovery, it muſt proceed from their being accuſtomed, for ſome Years, to deal in Millions, and to ſee the Publick defrauded daily of Thouſands; but ſuch Gentlemen as I am, who have never touched publick Money, nor any Money but our own, or ſuch as a Court of Juſtice might compel us to account for, muſt look upon a Sum of 60 or 70,000 *l.* with ſome Sort of Attention, and muſt think, that the Diſcovery of a Fraud of that Value,

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or at leaſt a publick Loſs (occaſioned by Miſconduct) of that Value, nay of a much greater, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate, is no ſuch Diſcovery as deſerves the Name or Character of *Parturiunt Montes*; for I dare venture to ſay, that if ſuch a Diſcovery had been made in the Times of our Anceſtors whatever the Mountains might have conceived, the Reſolutions of this Houſe would have brought forth an Impeachment.

'Whether to call theſe Remitting Contracts a deſigned Fraud, or only a Piece of Miſmanagement, I am really at a Loſs to determine: The Damage the Publick was thereby to ſuffer was ſo obvious, and the right Method of contracting ſo well known, that it requires a great Stock of Charity to believe, that the Miſmanagement proceeded entirely from Inattention. The many Advertiſements we ſee almoſt daily in our News Papers from the Commiſſioners of Navy and Victualling, could not but put our Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury in mind, that the proper Method for remitting the publick Money abroad, if it was to be done by Bills of Exchange, was to advertiſe in the *Gazette*, or at leaſt to give Notice to all the great Remitters in the City to ſend in Propoſals; and it was the more neceſſary for the preſent Lords of the Treaſury to take this Method, becauſe when they entered upon their Truſt, there was a general Suſpicion, that every publick Contract was made a Jobb, and that no Propoſal, however beneficial for the Publick, was ever attended to, unleſs it came from one who was a Friend of the Miniſter's. Whether this Suſpicion was well founded or no, is not my Buſineſs at preſent to enquire into; but that there was then ſuch a Suſpicion, and that this Suſpicion had for ſome Time been very general, is certain and well known in the City of *London*; ſo that no Man ever thought of offering any Propoſals to the Publick, but ſuch as thought they could make an Intereſt with the Miniſter; and Propoſals from ſuch Men never were, nor ever will be, the moſt advantageous for the publick Service. Our preſent Lords of the Treaſury could not therefore expect that, upon their Acceſſion to * that Board, any Gentleman would give himſelf the Trouble to ſend them Propoſals of any Kind, without ſome publick or private Invitation to do ſo; for whatever Character they might formerly have had for Candour and publick Spirit, their precipitate Acceſſion to that Board was very far from removing the general Suſpicion that had before prevailed; and the Treatment they gave to the Propoſals of Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*

* See Vol. xiii. p. 115.

Muilman has already made this Suſpicion as ſtrong againſt them as ever it was againſt their Predeceſſors. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'Another Reaſon, Sir, which made it neceſſary for them to give Notice to the Remitters to ſend in Propoſals, was this: Tho' it was generally known, or at leaſt ſuppoſed, that Troops were to be ſent abroad, yet it neither was nor could be known, that the Money for ſubſiſting them was to be ſent abroad by Bills of Exchange, becauſe the Publick might have reſolved to ſend it in Gold or Silver at its own Riſk, and upon its own Account, which, conſidering that the Balance of Trade with *Holland* is againſt us, would have been the beſt and moſt frugal Method; for, I hope, we have now got over that ſilly old Prejudice, againſt ſending Gold or Silver out of the Country; becauſe it is now fully underſtood, that every Country muſt ſend out its Gold or Silver when the general Balance of Trade is againſt it. As long as the general Balance is in our Favour, we may ſupply the Demands of one Country by ſending thither the Bullion or foreign Coin we receive from another: We may, for Example, ſupply the Demands of *Holland* by the Gold or Silver we receive from *Portugal* and other Countries; but if the general Balance ſhould turn againſt us, that Balance muſt be made good out of our national Stock of Gold and Silver, and will always be ſo, let you make ever ſo ſevere Laws againſt it. Therefore, when our Government has occaſion for Money in *Holland*, or any other Country where the Courſe of Exchange is againſt us, it ought to ſend over Gold or Silver for that Purpoſe upon its own Account, becauſe it need pay nothing for Freight or Commiſſion, and being ſent over in Men of War, the Riſk can never be ſo great to the Government as it muſt be to private Men. It is therefore ridiculous in the Government to pay for Riſk, Freight, and Commiſſion, to private Men, when it can ſo eaſily ſave all theſe Charges, by ſending over Gold or Silver upon its own Account; and if our Government had done ſo upon this Occaſion, it would have ſaved above ſix *per Cent.* which is now paid to Mr *Gore* and the other Gentlemen concerned in our publick Remittances.

'From hence, Sir, you muſt ſee, that the Merchants in the City, who underſtand the Nature of Trade and Exchange, could not know, nay they could not ſuppoſe, that the Government would have Occaſion to deal in Bills of Exchange, for ſubſiſting the Troops that were to be ſent abroad; and therefore, ſince it was reſolved to remit all the publick Money by that Method, a proper Notice ſhould have

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have been given to all the great Remitters in the City to ſend in their Propoſals. Beſides, it is generally thought by the Merchants, to be officious in them to trouble Miniſters with Propoſals, unleſs they be deſired to do ſo; and that this is the Way of thinking in the City could not but be known to the Lords of the Treaſury, or at leaſt to ſuch of them as were concerned in the Inquiry into the famous *Jamaica* Contract; for they were there expreſsly told, that the Reaſon why none of the Merchants offered Propoſals for remitting the publick Money to *Jamaica*, was becauſe the Treaſury did not communicate their Intentions to Merchants, and that if they had done ſo, ſeveral Merchants would have offered Propoſals for ſerving them. It is therefore very ſurpriſing, that thoſe Lords of the Treaſury who were Members of the Secret Committee, ſhould not think of giving Notice to the Merchants to bring in Propoſals for remitting Money to *Holland*, before they concluded any Contract with Mr *Gore*; and when we conſider, that the Inquiry was carrying on at the very Time this Contract was made, it is hard to believe, that this Neglect was the Effect of mere Inattention, and not the Effect of a Deſign to give Mr *Gore* a very profitable Bargain, in order to have ſome Friend admitted into a Share of the Profits.

'Having now ſhewn, that the Lords of the Treaſury were upon this Occaſion manifeſtly guilty of a moſt ſurpriſing Piece of Neglect, I ſhall next beg Leave to examine the Bargain they made. They could not but know, that when Mr *Gore* brought in his Propoſals, the then Current Courſe of Exchange was about ten Guilders eighteen Stivers *Dutch* Money, for every Pound Sterling; and, barring the Cuſtom, I defy them, or any Man, to ſhew me a Reaſon, why the Publick ſhould pay more for remitting its Money than any private Man. I can ſhew ſeveral, why it ſhould pay leſs: In private Contracts for remitting, there is generally a Broker employ'd, and therefore Brokeridge muſt be paid, but in publick Contracts no Broker is ever employ'd, and conſequently no Brokeridge to be paid: In remitting 100 *l.* there is as much Trouble, as in remitting 100,000 *l.* except only the Difference of telling, which, ſince Bank-Notes came in Faſhion, is next to nothing; and therefore a Man who has 100,000 *l.* to remit, ought to pay leſs proportionably than a Man who remits a ſingle Hundred. For theſe Reaſons, if a private Man has ten Guilders eighteen Stivers for a Pound Sterling, the Publick ought to have at leaſt ten Guilders eighteen Stivers and a half; and if the Publick had

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threatned to ſend over what Money it wanted in Gold and Silver at its own Riſk, I believe, to prevent its taking this Method for ſupplying itſelf, the Remitters would have been glad to give their Bills at the Rate of ten Guilders eighteen Stivers *per* Pound Sterling; for even at that Rate their Profit would have been very conſiderable, which I ſhall beg Leave to explain. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'As the Hon. Gentleman who opened this Debate has before obſerved, when the Exchange is at the Rate of ten Guilders ſeventeen or eighteen Stivers for a Pound Sterling, it is about five and a half *per Cent.* to our Diſadvantage; therefore if a Dealer in Exchange ſends over to *Holland* 100,000 *l.* in Gold, in order to have an Opportunity to draw for it, that Gold will produce him in *Dutch* Money 1,149,950 Guilders; from which I ſhall deduct one *per Cent.* for Freight and Inſurance in ſending his Gold over, being more than the uſual Price; there will then remain 1,138,450 Guilders ten Stivers. Having thus lodged his Money, let us ſuppoſe, he draws for it at the Rate of ten Guilders eighteen Stivers for the Pound Sterling, at that Rate he muſt receive for his Bills in Money here, 104,445 *l.* Sterling; ſo that by this Tranſaction he has got 4435 *l.* Sterling, out of which he has nothing to pay but Commiſſion to his Correſpondent in *Holland*, which I ſhall reckon at one *per Cent.* for receiving and paying, amounting to 1044 *l.* 9 *s.* conſequently he has 3390 *l.* 11 *s.* clear Profit to himſelf, without any Riſk or Charge; and as he may renew this Tranſaction every two or three Months, we may ſee what a Profit a Remitter would have, even ſuppoſe he were to remit the publick Money at that Rate of ten Guilders eighteen Stivers *per* Pound Sterling. And, indeed, when I conſider this, I am ſurpriſed how the Agents of Meſſ. *Gore*, *Gulſton*, and *Poyntz*, could have the Aſſurance to repreſent, as they did to the Paymaſter General, in a Repreſentation ſigned by them, and now upon our Table, that their whole Profit conſiſted in the Difference between the Rate of Exchange they agreed to draw at, and the then Current Rate of Exchange; and that even from this Profit they were to deduct their Hazard of Bills, Commiſſion, Brokeridge, Poſtage of Letters, and other Charges. Surely, they muſt imagine, either that the Paymaſter did not, or that he would not underſtand what he was about; for ſuppoſe he had known nothing of Trade, common Senſe would have told him, that even according to the common Courſe of Exchange, the Remitter muſt have a Profit ſufficient for anſwering

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anſwering his Trouble, Riſk, and Charges; and that in remitting the publick Money there could be no greater Trouble, Riſk, or Charge, than in remitting the Money of private Men; but, on the contrary, that in remitting the publick Money there is no Expence of Brokeridge, or Riſk of Bills; and that, therefore, if the Remitter paid leſs, or gave his Bills for leſs than the common Courſe of Exchange, it would be ſo much clear Profit, over and above the Profit uſually made in remitting the Money of private Men.

'I know very well, Sir, that when great Sums are to be remitted, and an abſolute Neceſſity to remit them by Bills of Exchange, it neceſſarily raiſes the Price of thoſe Bills, that is to ſay, it lowers the common Courſe of Exchange; but I have ſhewn, that the Government was ſo far from being under a Neceſſity to remit the publick Money by Bills of Exchange, that it would have been right and frugal to have ſent over to *Holland*, in Gold or Silver, the whole Money they were to have Occaſion for at that Place; and if they had done ſo, it would only have been doing what Mr *Gore*, or any one other that contracts with them, muſt do at their Expence; therefore, the Danger of the Exchange falling below its common Courſe, on Account of the great Sums the Government was to have Occaſion for in *Holland*, was a meer Bugbear, that could frighten none but Infants in the Buſineſs of Trade and Exchange; for the Courſe of Exchange, or the Price of Bills of Exchange, does not depend upon the Demand for Money at any certain Place, but upon the Difficulty and Danger of ſending Gold or Silver from one Place to another; and therefore, the Courſe of Exchange can never riſe much above the Value People put upon that Difficulty and Danger, which with reſpect to our Government's ſending Gold or Silver to *Holland* muſt be very trifling; aud if the Lords of the Treaſury had but threatned to take this Method, it would ſoon have put an End to any Combination that could have been entered into by the Remitters.

'No Pretence, therefore, can from thence be taken for juſtifying either the Terms, or the Precipitancy of the Contract they made with Mr *Gore*; but ſuppoſe there had been ſome Reaſon for their being in a Hurry, can this juſtify their agreeing to give him ſuch monſtrous Profits? I have already ſhewn what Profits a Remitter makes according to the common Courſe of Exchange, and in order to make the extravagant Terms of this Contract the more apparent, I ſhall ſtate the Profits Mr *Gore* would have made according

to

to his firſt Contract, if he and his Friends had not generouſly offered more than the Lords of the Treaſury deſired of them. That every Gentleman may examine by himſelf whether or no I am right in my Calculations, I ſhall ground them upon Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Table of the Value of foreign Coins, according to which a Pound Sterling, at the real Par of Exchange, is worth thirty-ſix Shillings and fifty-nine Hundredth Parts of a Shilling *Flemiſh* Bank Money, or thirty-eight Shillings and forty-two Hundredth Parts of a Shilling *Flemiſh* Current Money, which reduced into *Dutch* Currency is eleven Guilders ten Stivers and a Half for every Pound Sterling. Now, as by their firſt Contract they were to give but ten Guilders eleven Stivers and a Half for the Pound Sterling, if they ſent over to *Holland* at their own Riſk, from Time to Time, in Bullion, or in foreign Gold or Silver, ſuch Sums as were neceſſary for anſwering their Draughts, they had a Profit of nineteen Stivers upon every Pound Sterling, which is very near nine *per Cent.* and as they were to deal in ſuch large Sums, I am perſuaded, their whole Charge of Freight, Commiſſion, and Poſtage of Letters, could not amount to above One and a Half *per Cent.* ſo that they had a clear Profit of above ſeven *per Cent.* without running any other Riſk than that of the Inſurance, the Value of which is ſeldom above three Quarters *per Cent.* and if they had remitted abroad at this Rate the whole Money of laſt Year and this, amounting, as has been calculated, to 1,826,089 *l.* their nett Profits would have amounted to 127,826 *l.* Sterling, every Farthing of which, and more, might have been ſaved to the Publick by ſending Gold and Silver over upon the publick Account, inſtead of employing Mr *Gore* to ſend it over for them.

'Whether the Lords of the Treaſury knew what a profitable Contract they had given to their Friend, or rather to the Friend of their Predeceſſor, I do not take upon me to determine. I cannot really ſuppoſe they did; for if I could, I ſhould be very apt to ſuſpect, that they did not, nor would give to any Man an Opportunity of making ſuch monſtrous Profits, without ſtipulating, in the Name of a Truſtee, ſome Share of the Profits to themſelves. But ſuppoſe they did not know the Value of the Contract they gave, which is the moſt charitable Suppoſition that can be made in their Favour, it ſhews, that they were guilty of a very great Neglect in the Diſcharge of their Truſt; for had they talk'd with any indifferent Man that underſtood the Buſineſs of Exchange, he could eaſily have made them underſtand

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derſtand what they were about. And what happened afterwards, is a full Proof of the bad Bargain they had made for the Publick; for when Mr *Gore* heard of the Propoſals made by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, he came of his own Accord, there being no Appearance of his having been ſent for, and generouſly agreed to give a Stiver and a Half more *per* Pound Sterling, than they had ſtipulated for the Publick, by which he reduced his Profits to a little above eight *per Cent.* ſo that we may reckon, he and his Friends have ſtill ſix and a half *per Cent.* nett Profit, which upon 1,826,089 *l.* amounts to 118,695 *l.* Sterling.

'I ſee, Sir, the Houſe is tired of Calculations, but I muſt beg their Patience a little; for I cannot leave this Subject, without ſhewing the Ignorance, or ſomething worſe, of thoſe Gentlemen with whom the Pay-maſter General was pleaſed to conſult upon this Occaſion, who gravely told him, according to his Report upon our Table, that by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*'s Propoſals, they were to have but a Half *per Cent.* groſs Profit, as they call it, (going ſtill upon the Fallacy, that at the Current Courſe of Exchange the Remitter has no Profit) and then they wiſely add, *that they cannot conceive how theſe Gentlemen make their Account, unleſs they flatter themſelves with being indulged with the Liberty of exporting the Current Coin of this Kingdom.* Now, Sir, according to my Method of Calculation, which is free from that Fallacy, and certainly the right one, Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman* would, even at the Rate of Exchange they offered, have made a Profit of fourteen Stivers and a Half upon every Pound Sterling, which is ſix and near three Quarters *per Cent.* groſs, and at leaſt five *per Cent.* nett Profit; ſo that if they had been obliged to export the Current Coin, it could not have proceeded from their not having a ſufficient Profit; and, indeed, it is ridiculous to talk of ſuch an Effect's proceeding from ſuch a Cauſe. If the War continues but a ſmall Number of Years, even Mr *Gore* and his Friends may be obliged to export our Current Coin, or melt it down in order to export the Bullion, which cannot, I am ſure, proceed from their not having a ſufficient Profit; but they muſt do this, when they can find neither Bullion nor foreign Gold or Silver to export; and this, I am afraid, they may be obliged to do, ſooner than ſome People are aware of; for we are now far from being in the ſame Circumſtances we were at the Beginning of the War in the Queen's Time. We are ſtill Gainers, I believe, upon the general Balance of Trade, but, I fear, not ſo conſiderable

as we were at that Time; and we have now a Load upon our general Balance of Trade, which we were then very little ſubject to, I mean the Intereſt payable yearly to Foreigners upon the Capitals they have in our ſeveral Funds, which, I believe, amounts to 5 or 600,000 *l.* a Year, and is a moſt grievous Drawback upon our general Balance of Trade. If by that Balance we are not ſupplied with an annual Recruit of Bullion or foreign Gold and Silver, ſufficient for ſupplying the annual Demand for the Payment of this Intereſt, as well as for paying our Armies and ſubſidiary Princes upon the Continent, we muſt begin to incroach upon our national Stock of Gold and Silver, and, conſequently, muſt export our Current Coin, or melt it down for that Purpoſe, which is the ſame Thing; and this our Miniſters ought ſeriouſly to conſider before it is too late. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

'After having ſhewn how profitable this Contract was to the Undertaker, I muſt conſider the Dangers he was expoſed to, which have been aſſigned as Reaſons for giving him ſuch a profitable Bargain. The Danger of lowering the Exchange I have already ſhewn to be altogether chimerical, becauſe either the Government, or any private Man, may prevent it, by exporting Gold or Silver. The Danger of an Advance in the Price of Freight or Inſurance for the Exportation of Gold or Silver, is ſtill more chimerical, becauſe it may, at all Times, be prevented by the Government's employing their Men of War, and is at all Times ſo trifling, eſpecially the former, that it is not worth minding; and as to the *Agio*'s falling in *Holland*, the Importation of foreign Gold or Silver will prevent it; but if it ſhould not, it can be of no bad Conſequence; for as the *Agio* falls, the Courſe of Exchange will riſe; becauſe Merchants or Dealers in Exchange never conſider the Current Value of Bank, or any other Sort of Money in any Country: They conſider only the Quantity and Fineneſs of the Gold or Silver they pay, and the Quantity and Fineneſs of the Gold or Silver they are to receive in lieu of it in another Country, and according to that they fix the Courſe of Exchange, ſo as to have a reaſonable Profit for anſwering their Trouble and Expence.

'Now, Sir, with regard to the Argument of the Publick's being no Loſer by this Contract, however profitable it may be to the Undertaker: This, I acknowledge, ſurpriſed me; for, I think, it is one of the moſt ſophiſtical Arguments, with regard to our own Troops, that was ever made uſe of in any metaphyſical Diſpute in our Univerſities; and

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and with regard to the foreign Troops in our Pay, and the Subſidies payable to the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Sardinia*, I ſhall ſhew, that it is abſolutely falſe. But firſt, with regard to our own Troops, whatever the Hon. Gentleman may think, I ſhall always be of Opinion, that every Loſs ſuſtained by thoſe brave Men who are fighting the Battles of their Country in a foreign Climate, is a Loſs to their Country; and I muſt ſay, I hope our Miniſters will take Notice of what I ſay, I wiſh our Troops may not, — But whether they do or no, I muſt ſay, it is an inſufferable Hardſhip, to make the Troops we ſend abroad, pay for ſending their Money after them. Wherever they go, they ought to be paid as if they were in *England*, and if they are paid in foreign Money, they ought to be paid at the Par of Exchange; That is to ſay, for every Pound Sterling due to them, they ought to receive, in the Money of the Country where they are, as much as that Pound Sterling would produce, if ſent there in the Current Coin of this Kingdom; and, conſequently, in *Holland*, or *Flanders*, they ought to receive at the Rate of eleven Guilders ten Stivers and a Half for every Pound Sterling that becomes due to them, inſtead of the ten Guilders thirteen Stivers they are to receive, according to the infamous Contract we have now under our Conſideration. Thus, as a Soldier in *Flanders* receives, or ought to receive at leaſt an *Engliſh* Groat a Day, or twenty eight Pence *Engliſh* a Week, Subſiſtence Money, if he were to be paid at the Par of Exchange, he would be intitled to receive, in *Dutch* Money, twenty-ſix Stivers and above fourteen Pennings, or near twenty ſeven Stivers a Week; whereas if he be paid, as I ſuppoſe he is, at the Rate we have contracted with our Remitter Mr *Gore*, he does not receive above twenty-four Stivers and fourteen or fifteen Pennings *Dutch* Money for his Week's Subſiſtence; and this is the harder upon him, becauſe, as we have not yet got into our Enemy's Country, and I do not know when we ſhall, a Soldier muſt not take ſo much as an Egg, or a Cruſt of Bread, without paying ready Money for it.

'As few of our Soldiers are good Pen and Ink Men, I doubt much, Sir, if any of them can calculate the Loſs they ſuſtain by our Method of paying them, and as the Loſs is not very remarkable, I believe, few of them take Notice of it; but it is evident, that they loſe above half a Day's Subſiſtence Money in a Week, and tho' this Loſs to each Soldier appears to be but a trifling Sum in a Year, yet to the whole Army the Loſs becomes ſo conſiderable as to deſerve

deſerve the Attention of this Houſe; for from what happened in *Jamaica*, we may form ſome Notion of the Danger that may ariſe from the Army's taking Notice of this Loſs, before we do. There, indeed, the Loſs was ſo conſiderable, that it ſet the whole Army a computing, and every Soldier at laſt found out, that he was cheated of one Day's Pay in ſeven, which had like to have produced a Mutiny in that Army.

'Now, Sir, with regard to the Money remitted for paying our foreign Mercenaries, I hope, the *Hanoverians* have not, I am ſure, no other Mercenaries ever had any Thing to do with the Grants or the Calculations made by Parliament. As we always agree to pay them in ſome foreign Currency, they have nothing to do with the Exchange we purchaſe it at, or with the Exchange it is calculated at in the Eſtimates laid before Parliament; and therefore, if we make a good Bargain it is an Advantage, if a bad one it is a Loſs to this Nation, and this Nation only. In the Eſtimates, 'tis true, the Exchange is always calculated at a low Rate, becauſe our Miniſters cannot then know the Rate they may purchaſe at; but if they can purchaſe at a higher Rate, and they ought to make as good a Bargain as they can for their Country, they are obliged to give an Account of the Savings to the next Seſſion of Parliament. In future Times, I hope we ſhall be more careful in this Reſpect than we have been in Times paſt; for even according to the bad Bargains they have lately made for remitting the publick Money, there will a conſiderable Saving in the Money granted for the Pay of foreign Troops, becauſe in the Eſtimates the Exchange is calculated at ten Guilders ten Stivers *per* Pound Sterling, whereas they have contracted for it at the Rate of ten Guilders thirteen Stivers, which is a Saving of three Stivers upon every Pound Sterling, and this is near one and a half *per Cent.* upon all the Money granted for the Pay of foreign Troops: There was likewiſe a Saving upon every one of the different Sums paid to the Queen of *Hungary* at *Amſterdam*, and conſequently that Account, upon the very Face of it, appears to be wrong, with reſpect to the Sums ſet down in Sterling Money. I ſhall take Notice only of the ſecond Article in that Account, by Way of Example: It is there ſaid, Paid to her Miniſter in Bills upon Mr *Compton*, Deputy Paymaſter at *Amſterdam*, 787,500 Guilders, at the Rate of ten Guilders ten Stivers for every Pound Sterling; being the Rate ſettled by Treaty, which ſaid Sum was furniſhed by the Remitter in Bills of Exchange,

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change, payable at *Amſterdam*, at the Rate of ten Guilders ten Stivers and a half *per* Pound Sterling; and this is computed to be in Sterling Money 75,000 *l.* Now, Sir, it is very true, that 787,500 Guilders, at ten Guilders ten Stivers *per* Pound Sterling, amounts to 75,000 *l.* but 787,500 Guilders, at ten Guilders eleven Stivers and a half *per* Pound Sterling, amounts to no more than 74,468 *l.* which was all that could be paid to Mr *Gore* for his Bills, and conſequently by this Remittance our Miniſters ſaved to the Publick 532 *l.* and might have ſaved a great deal more if they had made a better Bargain, tho' they ſeem to be unwilling to account even for what they did actually ſave.

'Whether the Queen of *Hungary*'s Miniſter took Directions from our Miniſters, as to the Remitter he was to employ, I ſhall not determine: With regard to the Money to be paid at *Amſterdam*, he had no Buſineſs to trouble his Head about the Rate of Exchange, becauſe as the Rate was ſettled by Treaty at ten Guilders ten Stivers *per* Pound Sterling, his Miſtreſs was neither to get nor loſe by the Bargain made for the Exchange; but with regard to the Money paid him here, I am ſure, he would have ſerved his Miſtreſs very ill, if, without any Neceſſity or Direction, he had taken Bills at the Rate of ten Guilders eleven Stivers and a Half *per* Pound Sterling, when he might every Day have had undoubted Bills at the Rate of ten Guilders ſeventeen or eighteen Stivers *per* Pound Sterling; and, for the ſame Reaſon, it muſt be allowed, that our Miniſters did not ſerve their Country well in accepting of ſuch a low Rate of Exchange for the Money they remitted to *Amſterdam*; becauſe, whatever they could get, or did get, above ten Guilders ten Stivers *per* Pound Sterling, was an Advantage to their Country, and ought to be accounted for to Parliament. It is therefore evident that with regard to ſome Part of the Money paid to the Queen of *Hungary*, the Publick is a Loſer by this Contract; but with regard to the Money to be paid to the King of *Sardinia*, as we have been deny'd a Sight of that Treaty, and conſequently do not know where, or in what Currency, the Money is to be paid, I can ſay nothing about it.

'As to the private Reaſons our Lords of the Treaſury might have had for preferring Mr *Gore*, if they were ſuch as related to the Publick, they were fully anſwered by the Security offered by Meſſ. *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, which was likewiſe an Anſwer to the Argument founded upon the Experience they had of Mr *Gore*'s Punctuality; and, indeed,

deed, when the Money is paid upon the Delivery of the Bills, I do not ſee how any Man that is honeſt can fail of being punctual, becauſe it may be ſent over to anſwer his Draughts with the ſame Packet that carries his Bills. And as to the diſcretionary Power contended for, the Hon. Gentleman himſelf allowed, that it ought never to be made uſe of, but when the Difference between one Bidder and another is trifling. Can it be ſaid that it was ſo in this Caſe? Sir, the Difference between the Propoſals of Mr *Gore* and his Friends, and thoſe offered by Meſſrs *Wilkinſon* and *Muilman*, was near one and a Half *per Cent.* and this upon 1,826,089 *l.* the Sum that had been or was to be remitted, amounted to above 27,391 *l.* Can this Difference be ſaid to be trifling? I am ſure, it will appear ſo to no Man in *England* but ſuch a one as a Lord of our Treaſury; and if this Contract eſcapes our Cenſure, I am afraid, that ſuch a Sum will very ſoon begin to look big even in the Eyes of a Lord of our Treaſury; for, by Jobwork, Extravagance, and Neglect, the Nation will very ſoon be ſo reduced as to have very little Money to put into their Hands. This fatal Conſequence we ought to prevent, if poſſible; and therefore I ſhall be for agreeing to this Motion.' An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

A Motion being made, and the Queſtion put, that the Chairman do leave the Chair, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 112 againſt 82. By this a Stop was put to any farther Inquiries. Mr Waller's Motion for cenſuring the Lords of the Treaſury, overruled.

March 11. An ingroſs'd Bill, For indemnifying Perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices, *&c.* was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords by Mr *Phillips*.

March 14. Upon the Motion of Mr Alderman *Calvert*, ſeconded by Vice Admiral *Vernon*, Mr *Cornwall*, Mr *Sydenham*, and the Lord *George Graham*, a Bill was order'd in, *Nem. Con.* For the more ſpeedy and effectual Manning of his Majeſty's Fleet. Bill for better manning the Fleet.

March 15. Mr *Henry Archer* preſented to the Houſe a Bill, to continue ſeveral Laws, For granting an Allowance on the Exportation of *Britiſh* made Gunpowder; For further encouraging the Importation of Naval Stores from his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Plantations in *America*; For Licenſing 100 Additional Hackney Chairs; and, For continuing certain Clauſes relating to the Powers and Authorities of Juſtices of the Peace, and of the Commiſſioners for licenſing and regulating Hackney Coaches and Chairs, and the Rules and Penalties

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nalties therein-mention'd; and, For apprehending and puniſhing the Hawkers of unſtamp'd News Papers, which was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

March 16. A Petition of the Freeholders, *&c.* of *North Holland*, in the County of *Lincoln*, to the ſame Effect as thoſe for *Grantham*, was order'd to lie on the Table.

A Motion being made, that an engroſs'd Bill from the Lords, For reſtoring *Francis*, Duke of *Buccleugh*, * to the Dignities and Titles of Earl of *Doncaſter* and Baron *Scot* of *Tindal*, be now read the firſt Time: Mr *Pelham*, by Command, acquainted the Houſe, that the King recommended the Conſideration thereof to the Houſe, whereupon it was read a firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Lace Bill paſs'd;

An ingroſs'd Bill, For the more effectual preventing the Importation and Wear of Gold and Silver Thread, Lace, Fringe, or other Work made of Gold or Silver Wire, manufactur'd in Foreign Parts, was read a third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords.——As alſo a Bill, For allowing further Time for Inrollment of Deeds and Wills made by Papiſts, and for Relief of Proteſtant Purchaſers, Deviſees, and Leſſees.

And for Relief of Proteſtant Purchaſers.

March 17. Sir *Hugh Smithſon* preſented a Bill, to explain and amend an Act paſs'd in the fourteenth Year of his preſent Majeſty, *for the Preſervation of the Publick Roads in* England, which was read the firſt Time, and order'd a ſecond Reading.

Bill relating to Elections for Boroughs drop'd.

March 18. The farther Conſideration of the Bill, touching the Election of Members for Cities, Boroughs, *&c.* in *England*, was defer'd for a Month †.

Bill paſs'd for reſtoring the Duke of Buccleugh to his Engliſh Honours.

March 21. An ingroſſed Bill from the Lords, for reſtoring *Francis* Duke of *Buccleugh*, *&c.* was read the third Time,

* His Grace is Grandſon to the Duke of MONMOUTH, by whoſe Attainder An. 1. JACOBI II. the Title was forfeited.— See an Account of the Rebellion at that Time and the Conſequences thereof, in TIMBERLAND's Hiſtory of the Houſe of Lords, Vol I.

† The Author of FACTION DETECTED thus accounts for the Loſs of this Popular Bill, 'The true Reaſon why this Bill was not paſs'd, 'was one which equally affected all Parties, and which will everlaſtingly 'prevent an effectual Bill of this Kind; and this ariſes from the various 'Rights of Election, which are ſo numerous, that they diſtract and con'found the different Intereſts of Gentlemen, which, to ſpeak fairly on 'all Sides, induces them, by one plauſible Pretence or other, for their 'private Regard, to *oppoſe*, or to *propoſe*, ſo many different Clauſes, that 'ſuch Bills at length become impracticable and impalatable to all —— The 'Burgage Tenures too, which Gentlemen will neither part with, nor 'can tell how to regulate, are another invincible Obſtruction; and the 'Powers and the Penalties create further Difficulties, which no Human 'Wiſdom has been yet able to ſurmount.

Time, paſs'd, and ſent by Mr *Pelham* to the Lords. As was the next Day, A Bill to make more effectual the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, *&c.* by Mr *Carew*. An. 16. Geo. II. 1743.

March 25. A Bill to continue the Act of the fifth of his preſent Majeſty, to prevent the committing of Frauds by Bankrupts, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent by Mr *Henry Archer* to the Lords. Several Bills paſs'd.

March 29. A Bill for continuing ſeveral Laws relating to the Allowance upon the Exportation of *Britiſh* made Gun-powder; to the Importation of Naval Stores from the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*; to the additional Number of 100 Hackney-Chairs, and to the Powers given for regulating Hackney-Coaches and Chairs; for puniſhing Venders of Unſtamp'd News-Papers; for allowing the Importation of Hemp or Flax, *&c.* manufactur'd in *Ireland*, though not ſworn to be of the Growth of that Kingdom, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent by Mr *Francis Fane* to the Lords.

The ſame Day Mr *Francis Fane* having reported from the Committee of Supply the Bill, for granting a certain Sum out of the Sinking Fund; a Motion was made for recommitting the Clauſe of Appropriation therein, but it paſs'd in the negative.

March 30. A Bill for granting One Million out of the Sinking Fund, and for applying a farther Sum, for the Service of the Year 1743, was read the third Time, paſs'd, and ſent to the Lords: As was alſo another for allowing Carts to be drawn by four Horſes. Then it was reſolv'd, to preſent an Addreſs to the King, to give Directions, that there may be laid before the Houſe, Copies of General *Oglethorp*'s Letters to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, of *April* 28, *May* 12, *July* 19, 1741, as alſo from the Secretary to the Lords of the Regency, to the ſaid General, *Octob.* 19, 1741, relating to the Proviſional Troops and Veſſels propos'd by him, as neceſſary to be continued in *Georgia* during the War, after raiſing the Siege of *Auguſtine*. All which Mr Comptroller preſented the next Day. Addreſs for Papers relating to Georgia.

April 12. A new Writ was order'd for *Saltaſh* in the Room of *John Cleveland*, * Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Navy. As was the next Day another for *Grantham*, on the Death of Sir *Michael Newton* †. Then the Houſe having taken into Conſideration the Amendments made by the Lords to the Vagabond Bill, two of which were diſagreed New Writs.

* Stamp Brookſbank, Eſq; was elected.
† Sir John Cuſt, Bart. was elected.

An. 16. Geo. II. 1743.

to, *Nem. Con.* a Committee was appointed to draw up Reaſons at a Conference; but before this Point cou'd be ſettled between the two Houſes, the King put an End to the Seſſion, ſo that the Bill was for this Time loſt.

April 19. Ordered a new Writ for *Calne*, in the Room of Lieutenant Col. *Elliot*, ‡ made one of the Equeries to the King. And the next Day another for the Shire of *Linlithgow*, in the Room of *George Dundaſs*, ‖ Eſq; appointed Maſter of his Majeſty's Works in *Scotland*.

New Writs.

April 21. Another Writ was order'd for *Southwark*, in the Room of *Thomas Inwen*, Eſq; § deceas'd; and on the ſame Day the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an End to the Seſſion with the following Speech.

King's Speech at putting an End to the Seſſion.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

" THE Zeal, Prudence, and Diſpatch, with which " you have carried on the Publick Buſineſs, during " the Courſe of this Seſſion, give me the greateſt Satisfac- " tion.

" That this Nation, and the Common Cauſe, may reap " the moſt beneficial Fruits of your vigorous Reſolutions, " I have, at the Requiſition of the Queen of *Hungary*, or- " dered my Army, in Conjunction with the *Auſtrian* " Troops, to paſs the *Rhine*, as Auxiliaries to Her *Hunga-* " *rian* Majeſty, and for Her Support and Aſſiſtance, and " to oppoſe any dangerous Meaſures, that might affect the " Balance and Liberties of *Europe*, or hinder the Re-eſta- " bliſhment of the Publick Tranquillity, upon juſt and ſo- " lid Foundations. I have continued a ſtrong Squadron in " the *Mediterranean*, and another in the *Weſt-Indies*, in " order to carry on the great Work of diſtreſſing our Ene- " mies, the *Spaniards*, and reducing them to ſafe and ho- " nourable Terms of Peace, as well as of maintaining the " Rights of Navigation and Commerce, belonging to my " Subjects: And from the former of theſe Squadrons, my " Allies in *Italy* have found, and ſtill continue to receive, " a moſt uſeful and advantageous Support.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I return you my Thanks for the ample Supplies, which " you

‡ ‖ They were both re-elected.

	No. on the Poll.	After the Scrutiny.
§ Alexander Hume, Eſq; was elected	792	732
[See Vol. xiii. P. 114.] Hammond, Eſq;	863	691
Majority for Mr Hume		41

" you have granted for the Service of the current Year, An. 16. Geo. II.
" and which you may be aſſured, ſhall be applied to thoſe 1743.
" great Ends, for which they were given.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

" I have a firm Confidence in your Good Affections;
" and it is the fixed Purpoſe of my Heart, to promote the
" true Intereſt, and Happineſs, of my Kingdoms. In re-
" turn for this, I expect, on your Part, that you will exert
" your beſt Endeavours, in your reſpective Stations, to ren-
" der my Government eaſy, and to preſerve the Peace and
" Quiet of the Nation.

After which the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the 7th of *June*.

A TABLE OF THE

Publick ACTS paſs'd during the Second Seſſion of the Third Parliament of King *George* II.

AN Act, *For granting a Land Tax for the Service of the Year* 1743.

An Act, *For continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry, for the Service of the Year* 1743.

An Act, *For repealing certain Duties on Spirituous Liquors, and on Licences for retailing the ſame, and for laying other Duties on Spirituous Liquors, and on Licences to retail the ſaid Liquors.*

An Act, *To explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Members in Parliament, for* Scotland, *and to reſtrain the Partiality, and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at ſuch Elections.*

An

An. 16. Geo. II. 1743.

An Act, *For repealing the ſeveral Rates and Duties upon Victuallers and Retailers of Beer and Ale, within the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter *and the Weekly Bills of Mortality; and for transferring the Exchequer Bills unſatisfied thereupon, to the Duties for Licences to ſell Spirituous Liquors and Strong Waters by Retail; and alſo for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe a certain Sum of Money, for the Service of the Year* 1743, *to be further charged on the ſaid Duties for Licences.*

An Act, *For raiſing by Annuities and a Lottery in Manner therein menioned, the Sum of* 1,800,000 l. *at* 3 l. per Cent. per Annum, *for the Service of the Year* 1743.

An Act, *For puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.*

An Act, *For the more eaſy and effectual Conviction of Offenders found at large within the Kingdom of* Great Britain, *after they have been ordered for Tranſportation.*

An Act, *For the Relief of Inſolvent Debtors.*

An Act, *To impower Juſtices of the Peace to act in certain Caſes, relating to Pariſhes and Places, to the Rates and Taxes of which they are rated or chargeable.*

An Act, *For rectifying Miſtakes in the Names of the Commiſſioners for the Land-Tax for the Year* 1742, *and for the appointing other Perſons, together with thoſe named for the ſaid Year, to put in Execution an Act of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, intituled,* An Act for granting an Aid to His Majeſty by a Land-Tax to be raiſed in *Great Britain,* for the Service of the Year 1743.

An Act, *For granting to his Majeſty the Sum of One Million out of the Sinking Fund, and for applying a further Sum therein mentioned, for the Service of the Year* 1743; *and for the further appropriating the Supplies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament.*

An Act, *For continuing ſeveral Laws relating to the Allowance upon the Exportation of* Britiſh *made Gunpowder; to the Importation of Naval Stores from the* Britiſh *Colonies in* America; *to the additional Number of One hundred Hackney Chairs; and to the Powers given for regulating Hackney Coaches and Chairs; for puniſhing the Venders of unſtamped News Papers; for allowing the Importation of Hemp or Flax manufactured in* Ireland, *though not ſworn to be the Growth of* Ireland; *and for the Relief of* Bryan Blundell, *in reſpect to the Duty on ſome white Salt loſt in a Storm at Sea.*

An Act, *To continue an Act made in the Fifth Year of his preſent Majeſty, intituled,* An Act to prevent the committing of Frauds by Bankrupts.

An

An Act, *For allowing Carts to be drawn by four Horſes.*

An Act, *To indemnify Perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices and Employments within the Time limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for that Purpoſe; and alſo for amending ſo much of an Act made in the 25th Year of the Reign of King* Charles II, *intituled,* An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, *as relates to the Time for receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper now limited by the ſaid Act.*

An Act, *For the further Puniſhment of Perſons who ſhall aid or aſſiſt Priſoners to attempt to eſcape out of lawful Cuſtody.*

An Act, *For allowing further Time for Inrolment of Deeds and Wills made by Papiſts, and for Relief of Proteſtant Purchaſers, Deviſees, and Leſſees.*

An Act, *For improving* Charterhouſe Square, *Co.* Middleſex.

An Act, *To enable the Pariſh of* St Botolph, *without* Aldgate, London, *to raiſe a certain Sum of Money.*

An Act, *To make* Bethnal Green, *Co.* Middleſex, *a ſeperate Pariſh.*

Alſo to Eleven Acts relating to the Repairing the following Roads, *viz. From* Bowes, *Co.* York, *to* Brough under Stainmore, *Co.* Weſtmoreland. Alſo, *Between* Hockliffe *and* Woburn, *Co.* Bedford; *and through* Woburn *to* Tickford Bridge *in* Newport Pagnel, *Co.* Bucks. Alſo, *From* Warminſter, *Co.* Wilts. Alſo, *From* Borough-Bridge, *Co.* York, *to* Catherick *in the ſame County, and from thence to* Piers Bridge *on the River* Tees. Alſo, *From* Marlborough *through* Weſt Kennet *to* Shepherd's Shord; *and from the* Hare and Hounds *in* Beckhampton, *to the Top of* Cherill Hill; *and from the Town of* Avebury *to the Croſs-way at* Beckhampton, *Co.* Wilts. Alſo, *From* Wade's *Mill, Co.* Hertford, *to* Barley *and* Royſton, *in the ſaid County.* Alſo, *From the North Part of* Harlow-Buſh *Common to* Woodford, *Co.* Eſſex. Alſo, *From the* Dun Cow *in* Dunchurch, *to* Hillmorton, *Co.* Warwick, *and from thence to Saint* James's End *in the Town of* Northampton. Alſo, *From the City of* Glouceſter *to the Top of* Birdlip-hill, *being the Road to* London; *and from the Foot of the ſaid Hill to the Top of* Crickley-hill, *being the Road to* Oxford. Alſo, *From* Cirenceſter, *Co.* Glouceſter, *to* Monument upon Lanſdown *in the ſame County.* Likewiſe, *From* Lutton, *Co.* Bedford, *to* Weſtwood-gate *in the ſaid County; and from* Lutton *to* St Alban's, *Co.* Hertford.

And to ſeveral Private Bills.

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APPENDIX.

A LIST of the MEMBERS *who voted* for *and* againſt *the* HANOVER *Troops to be in* BRITISH *Pay*, December 10, 1742.

Thoſe with a * *voted* for *the Inquiry into the Conduct of* Robert *Earl of* Orford *in the* Firſt *Seſſion.*

For the HANOVERIANS.

Abercromby James, Eſq;	*Banffſhire.*
Acourt Pierce, Eſq;	*Heytſbury.*
Archer Thomas, Eſq;	*Bramber.*
Arſcott John, Eſq;	*Aſhburton.*
Arundel Hon. Richard, Eſq;	*Knareſborough.*
Aſhe Edward, Eſq;	*Heytſbury.*
Bacon Edward, Eſq;	*Lynn.*
Baker Hercules, Eſq;	*Hythe.*
* Baltimore Lord,	*Surry.*
* Bayntun Edward, Eſq;	*Chippenham.*
* Bathurſt Hon. Henry, Eſq;	*Cirenceſter.*
Beauclerc Lord Harry,	*Thetford.*
Beauclerc Lord Vere,	*Plymouth.*
Beake Col. George,	*St Ives.*
Bennet Philip, Eſq;	*Bath.*
Bentinck Lord George,	*Droitwich.*
Bertie Lord Vere,	*Boſton.*
Bladen Martin, Eſq;	*Portſmouth.*
Bockland Col. Maurice,	*Yarmouth.*
* Boone Daniel, Eſq;	*Grampound.*
* Bootle Thomas, Eſq;	*Midhurſt.*
Bowles William, Eſq;	*Bewdley.*
Bradſhaigh Sir Roger, Bart.	*Wigan.*
Brand Thomas, Eſq;	*Shoreham.*
Braſſey Nathaniel, Eſq;	*Hertford.*
Brereton Thomas, Eſq;	*Liverpool.*
Briſtow John, Eſq;	*St Ives.*
Brodie Alexander, Eſq;	*Caithneſs.*
Brown Sir Robert, Bart.	*Ilcheſter.*
* Bruce Hope Sir John, Bart.	*Shire of Kinroſs.*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.	Brudenell Hon. James, Eſq;	*Chicheſter.*
	Burrard Harry, Eſq;	*Lymington.*
	Burrel Peter, Eſq;	*Haſlemere.*
	Butler John, Eſq;	*Eaſt Grinſtead.*
	Calthorpe Henry, Eſq;	*Hindon.*
	Campbell John, Eſq;	*Pembrokeſhire.*
	* Campbell Hon. Alex. Hume, Eſq;	*Berwickſhire.*
	Cary Walter, Eſq;	*Clifton.*
	Carnegie Sir James, Bart.	*Kincardinſhire.*
	* Carpenter Lord	*Weobly.*
	Carter William, Eſq;	*Kingſton upon Hull.*
	Cavendiſh Admiral Philip,	*Portſmouth.*
	Charlton, Job, Eſq;	*Newark.*
	Cholmondeley Col. James,	*Montgomery.*
	Churchill Major General,	*Caſtle-Riſing.*
	Churchill Charles, Eſq;	*Stockbridge.*
	Clayton Sir William, Bart.	*Bletchingly.*
	Clayton Kendrick, Eſq;	*Ditto.*
	Cleveland John, Eſq;	*Saltaſh.*
	Clive Edward, Eſq;	*St Michael's.*
	Coke Edward, Eſq;	*Norfolk.*
	* Compton George, Eſq;	*Northampton.*
	Conway Henry, Eſq;	*Higham Ferrers.*
	Cope Monoux, Eſq;	*Newport.*
	Corbet Sir William, Bart.	*Ludlow.*
	Corbet Thomas, Eſq;	*Saltaſh.*
	* Cornwallis John, Eſq;	*Eye.*
	Cotes Charles, Eſq;	*Tamworth.*
	Craigie Robert, Eſq;	*Tain and Dingwal.*
	Crowle George, Eſq;	*Kingſton upon Hull.*
	Danvers Joſeph, Eſq;	*Totneſs.*
	Darcy Sir Conyers, Kt.	*Richmond.*
	Doneraile Lord Viſcount,	*Winchelſea.*
	* Douglas James, Eſq;	*St Mawes.*
	Downing Jacob, Eſq;	*Dunwich.*
	Drury Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Malden.*
	Drummond, John, Eſq;	*Perth, &c.*
	* Dundaſs George, Eſq;	*Linlithgow.*
	Duncannon Lord,	*Derby.*
	Dupplin Lord	*Cambridge Town.*
	Earle Giles, Eſq;	*Malmsbury.*
	Earle William Rawlinſon, Eſq;	*Ditto.*
	* Elliot Richard, Eſq;	*Leſkard.*
	Elliot Col. William,	*Caln.*
	Ellis Wellbore, Eſq;	*Cricklade.*
	Evans, Hon. George, Eſq;	*Weſtbury.*
	Evans Captain Richard,	*Queenborough.*
	* Evelyn, John, Eſq,	*Penryn.*

Eversfield

Eversfield Charles, Eſq;	*Steyning.*
Fane Francis, Eſq;	*Petersfield.*
Fermanagh Lord Viſcount,	*Wendover.*
Finch Hon. Edward, Eſq;	*Cambridge Univerſity.*
Finch Hon. William, Eſq;	*Cockermouth.*
* Finch Hon. John, Eſq;	*Rutland.*
Finch Hon. Henry, Eſq;	*Malton.*
Fitzroy Charles, Eſq;	*Thetford.*
Fonnerau Thomas, Eſq;	*Sudbury.*
Forreſter Brook, Eſq;	*Wenlock.*
Fortroſe Lord,	*Inverneſs.*
Fox Henry, Eſq;	*Windſor.*
Frankland Frederick, Eſq;	*Thirsk.*
Frederick Charles, Eſq;	*Shoreham.*
French Jeffery, Eſq;	*Milborn-Port.*
Gage, Sir William, Bart.	*Seaford.*
Galway Lord Viſcount,	*Pontefract.*
Garth John, Eſq;	*Devizes.*
Gaſhry Francis, Eſq;	*Eaſtlow.*
Gibſon Thomas, Eſq;	*Yarmouth.*
* Gilmour Sir Charles, Bart.	*Edinburghſhire.*
Gildart Richard, Eſq;	*Liverpool.*
Glenorchy Lord Viſcount,	*Orford.*
Godolphin Francis, Eſq;	*Helſton.*
Gough Capt. Henry,	*Bramber.*
Grant Lodovick, Eſq;	*Elgin, Cullen, &c.*
Grant Sir James, Bart.	*Elginſhire.*
Gregory, George, Eſq;	*Borough-Bridge.*
Gulſton Joſeph, Eſq;	*Pool.*
* Gybbon Philips, Eſq;	*Rye.*
* Hamilton Lord Archibald,	*Clifton.*
* Hamilton Charles, Eſq;	*Truro.*
Hampden John, Eſq;	*Wendover.*
Hanbury Capel, Eſq;	*Leominſter.*
Harbord William, Eſq;	*Borealſton.*
Harris John, Eſq;	*Aſhburton.*
Harriſon George, Eſq;	*Hertford.*
Hartington Marquis of,	*Derbyſhire.*
* Hay Lord Charles,	*Haddingtonſhire.*
Hay William, Eſq;	*Seaford.*
Hayward Thomas, Eſq;	*Ludgerſhall.*
Heathcote Samuel, Eſq;	*Borealſton.*
Henley Henry Holt, Eſq;	*Lyme.*
Herbert Hon. Nicholas, Eſq;	*Newport.*
Herbert Henry Arthur, Eſq;	*Ludlow.*
Herbert Hon. Robert, Eſq;	*Wilton.*
Herbert Colonel William,	*Ditto.*
Hervey Hon. Thomas, Eſq;	*Bury.*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

Hobby Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Marlow.*
Holmes Henry, Eſq;	*Newton.*
* Hooper Edward, Eſq;	*Chriſt-Church.*
Howarth Sir Humphry, Kt.	*Radnorſhire.*
Hungerford Walter, Eſq;	*Caln.*
Hunter Thomas Orby, Eſq;	*Winchelſea.*
* Jeffreys John, Eſq;	*Breconſhire.*
Jenyns Soame, Eſq;	*Cambridgeſhire.*
* Inchiquin Earl of,	*Camelford.*
Ingram Colonel Charles.	*Horſham.*
Jolliffe John, Eſq;	*Petersfield.*
* Irby Sir William, Bart.	*Launceſton.*
Keene Benjamin, Eſq;	*Weſtlow.*
Kent Samuel, Eſq;	*Ipſwich.*
Kinaſton William, Eſq;	*Shrewsbury.*
Knight Robert, Eſq;	*Grimsby.*
Lamb Matthew, Eſq;	*Stockbridge.*
Laroche John, Eſq;	*Bodmin.*
Leathes Carteret, Eſq;	*Sudbury.*
* Lee George, L. L. D.	*Devizes.*
Legge Hon. Henry, Eſq;	*Orford.*
Lewis Thomas, Eſq;	*Radnor.*
Liddel Sir Henry, Bart.	*Morpeth.*
* Limerick Lord	*Taviſtock.*
Lock William, Eſq;	*Grimsby.*
Lockyer Charles, Eſq;	*Ilcheſter.*
Manners Lord William.	*Newark on Trent.*
Martin James, Eſq;	*Cambridge Town.*
Martin John, Eſq;	*Tewksbury.*
Maule William, Eſq;	*Forfarſhire.*
* Melliſh William, Eſq;	*Retford.*
Metcalfe Laſcelles, Eſq;	*Bedwin.*
Middleſex Earl of,	*Suſſex.*
Mill Sir Richard, Bart.	*Horſham.*
Miſſing Thomas, Eſq;	*Pool.*
Mitchel William, Eſq;	*Huntingdonſhire.*
Monſon Charles, Eſq;	*Lincoln.*
* Montague Charles, Eſq;	*Camelford.*
Mordaunt John, Eſq;	*Nottinghamſhire.*
Morgan Thomas, Eſq;	*Monmouthſhire.*
Moſtyn John, Eſq;	*Malton.*
Murray Lord John,	*Perthſhire.*
* Murray John, Eſq;	*Selkirk.*
Murray William, Eſq;	*Borrough-Bridge.*
Murray Alexander, Eſq;	*Peebles.*
Muſſenden Hill, Eſq;	*Harwich.*
Neal Robert, Eſq;	*Wotton Baſſet.*
Newnham Thomas, Eſq;	*Queenborough.*

Neſbit Albert, Eſq;	*Huntingdon.*
* Noel William, Eſq;	*Stamford.*
Norris Sir John, Kt.	*Rye.*
Norton Thomas, Eſq;	*Bury.*
Onſlow Arthur, Eſq;	*Surry.*
Onſlow Denzil, Eſq;	*Guilford.*
Onſlow Richard, Eſq;	*Ditto.*
* Ord Robert, Eſq;	*St Michael's.*
* Orme Garton, Eſq;	*Arundel.*
Oſbaldeſton William, Eſq;	*Scarbrough.*
Owen William, Eſq;	*Pembroke Town.*
* Oxenden Sir George, Bart.	*Sandwich.*
* Page John, Eſq;	*Chicheſter.*
Palmerſton Lord Viſcount,	*Weobly.*
Paulett Hon. Vere, Eſq;	*Bridgewater.*
Paulett Charles, Eſq;	*Lymington.*
Paulett Lord Harry,	*Hampſhire.*
Paulett Charles Armand, Eſq;	*Chriſt-Church.*
Pelham Hon. Henry, Eſq;	*Suſſex.*
Pelham James, Eſq;	*Haſtings.*
Pennington Sir Joſeph, Bart.	*Cumberland.*
Penton Henry, Eſq;	*Tregony.*
* Percival Lord,	*Weſtminſter.* TELLER.
Peterſham Lord,	*Aylesbury.*
Philipſon John, Eſq;	*Harwich.*
Pilſworth Charles, Eſq;	*Aylesbury.*
Pitt George Morton, Eſq;	*Pontefract.*
Plumer Richard, Eſq;	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
Plumtree John, Eſq;	*Nottingham.*
Pollen John, Eſq;	*Andover.*
Read Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Cricklade.*
Rider Sir Dudley, Kt.	*Tiverton.*
Rolle Henry, Eſq;	*Barnſtaple.*
* Rudge Edward, Eſq;	*Eveſham.*
* Ruſhout Sir John, Bart.	*Eveſham.*
Sackville Lord John,	*Tamworth.*
Sackville Lord George,	*Dover.*
* Sandys Samuel, Eſq;	*Worceſter.*
St Clair Brigadier James,	*Sutherlandſhire.*
* Scot David, Eſq;	*Fifeſhire.*
Scrope Hon. John, Eſq;	*Lyme.*
Selwyn John, Eſq;	*Glouceſter.*
Selwyn John, jun. Eſq;	*Whitchurch.*
Shepherd Samuel, Eſq;	*Cambridgeſhire.*
Smelt William, Eſq;	*Northallerton.*
Speke George, Eſq;	*Wells.*
Stert Arthur, Eſq;	*Plymouth.*
Steele William, Eſq;	*Hindon.*

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Stone Andrew, Eſq;	*Haſtings.*
Strange Sir John, Kt.	*Totneſs.*
Sundon Lord,	*Plympton.*
Talbot Hon. John, Eſq;	*Brecon.*
* Thomas Sir Edmund, Bart.	*Chippenham.*
Townſend Joſeph, Eſq;	*Weſtbury.*
Townſhend Hon. Roger, Eſq;	*Yarmouth.*
Townſhend Hon. Thomas, Eſq;	*Cambridge Univerſity.*
Trevor John Morley, Eſq;	*Lewes.*
Tuffnel Samuel, Eſq;	*Marlow.*
Turner Sir John, Bart.	*Lynn.*
* Vane Hon. Henry, Eſq;	*Rippon.*
Vere Thomas, Eſq;	*Norwich.*
Wade General George,	*Bath.*
Wager Sir Charles, Kt.	*Weſtlow.*
Walker Thomas, Eſq;	*Helſtone.*
Walpole Horatio, Eſq;	*Norwich.*
Walpole Edward, Eſq;	*Yarmouth.*
Walpole Horatio, jun. Eſq;	*Kellington.*
Wardour William, Eſq;	*Fowey.*
Watſon Thomas, Eſq;	*Berwick.*
Weſt James, Eſq;	*St Albans.*
White John, Eſq;	*Retford.*
Whitmore Thomas, Eſq;	*Bridgnorth.*
Whitmore William, Eſq;	*Ditto.*
Wilſon Daniel, Eſq;	*Weſtmoreland.*
Williams Sir Nicholas, Bart.	*Caermarthenſhire.*
Williams Charles Hanbury, Eſq;	*Monmouthſhire.*
Wilmer William, Eſq;	*Northampton.*
Wilkinſon Andrew, Eſq;	*Aldborough, Yorkſhire.*
Winnington Thomas, Eſq;	*Worceſter.*
* Wyndham Sir Charles, Bart.	*Apulby.*
Wynn Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Caernarvon.*
Wynn John, Eſq;	*Denbigh.*
Yonge Sir William, Bart.	*Honiton.*
Yorke Hon. Philip, Eſq;	*Rygate.*
York John, Eſq;	*Richmond.*
Young Hitch, Eſq;	*Steyning.*

ABSENT

Archer Henry, Eſq;	*Warwick.*
Arſcott Arthur, Eſq;	*Tiverton.*
Aſhe Joſ. Wyndham, Eſq;	*Downton.*
Bludworth Thomas, Eſq;	*Bodmin.*
Bodville William, Eſq;	*Caernarvonſhire.*
Bond John, ſen. Eſq;	*Corfe-Caſtle.*
Boſcawen Capt. Edward,	*Truro.*
Bridges George, Eſq;	*Wincheſter.*

Broughton Sir Brian, Bart.	*Wenlock.*
Campbell Brigadier John,	*Dunbartonſhire.*
Chute Anthony, Eſq;	*Newport.*
Colebroke Robert, Eſq;	*Malden.*
Conolly William, Eſq;	*Aldborough, Suffolk.*
Copleſton Thomas, Eſq;	*Kellington.*
Corbett Sir Richard, Bart.	*Shrewſbury.*
Cornwallis Stephen, Eſq;	*Eye.*
Cotton Sir Rob. Salusbury, Bart.	*Leſtwithiel.*
Croſs Sir John, Bart.	*Leſtwithiel.*
Docminique Charles, Eſq;	*Gatton.*
Douglas Col. Robert,	*Orkney and Zetland.*
Downing Sir George, Bart.	*Dunwich.*
Duncomb Anthony, Eſq;	*Downton.*
Euſton Earl of,	*Coventry.*
Frankland Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Thirſk.*
Glanville William, Eſq;	*Hythe.*
Granby Marquiſs of,	*Grantham.*
Haddock Nicholas, Eſq;	*Rocheſter.*
Harris John, Eſq;	*Barnſtaple.*
Hedworth John, Eſq;	*Durham County.*
Howard Col. Charles,	*Carliſle.*
Jewkes John, Eſq;	*Aldborough, Yorkſhire.*
Lambton Henry, Eſq;	*Durham.*
Maule John, Eſq;	*Aberdeen.*
Middleton Sir William, Bart.	*Northumberland.*
Mordaunt Col. James,	*Cockermouth.*
Oglethorp Col. James,	*Haſlemere.*
Pelham Thomas, jun. Eſq;	*Lewes.*
Pierſe Henry, Eſq;	*Northallerton.*
Revel Thomas, Eſq;	*Dover.*
Sloper William Eſq;	*Whitchurch.*
Stewart Admiral James,	*Melcomb.*
Stewart Col. John,	*Wigtounſhire.*
Stewart Capt. William,	*Wigtoun, &c.*
Strickland William, Eſq;	*Beverley.*
Thompſon William, Eſq;	*Scarborough.*
Turner Cholmley, Eſq;	*Yorkſhire.*
Wallop Hon. John, Eſq;	*Andover.*
Wright John, Eſq;	*Abingdon.*

Againſt the HANOVERIANS.

ABdy Sir Robert, Bart.	*Eſſex.*
Aiſlabie William, Eſq;	*Rippon.*
Aſtley Sir John, Bart.	*Salop County.*
Bagot Sir Walter, Bart.	*Staffordſhire.*
Bance John, Eſq;	*Wallingford.*
Banks William, Eſq;	*Grampound.*

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Banks Henry, Eſq;	*Corſe-Caſtle.*
Barrington Lord,	*Berwick.*
Barrington Sir John, Bart.	*Newtown.*
Bathurſt Benjamin, Eſq;	*Glouceſter.*
Beauclerc Lord Sidney,	*Windſor.*
Berkeley Norbonne, Eſq;	*Glouceſterſhire.*
Berkeley George, Eſq;	*Heydon.*
Beſt Thomas, Eſq;	*Canterbury.*
Blagrave John, Eſq;	*Reading.*
Bowes George, Eſq;	*Durham County.*
Bouverie Sir Jacob, Bart.	*New Sarum.*
Bramſton Thomas, Eſq;	*Eſſex.*
Browne John, Eſq;	*Dorcheſter.*
Buck John, Eſq;	*Taunton.*
Bulkley Lord Viſcount,	*Beaumaris.*
Buchanan Neil, Eſq;	*Glaſgow, Rutherglen,*
Buller James, Eſq;	*Eaſtlow.* [&c.
Burgoyne Sir Roger, Bart.	*Bedfordſhire.*
Butler Dr Edward,	*Oxford-Univerſity.*
Bury Thomas, Eſq;	*Newport.*
Calvert William, Eſq;	*London.*
Carew Sir William, Bart.	*Cornwall.*
Carew Thomas, Eſq;	*Minehead.*
Cartwright Thomas, Eſq;	*Northamptonſhire.*
Cave Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Leiceſterſhire.*
Chapman Sir John, Bart.	*Taunton.*
Chernocke Sir Boteler, Bart.	*Bedford.*
Cheſter Sir John, Bart.	*Bedfordſhire.*
Chetwynd Lord Viſcount,	*Stafford.*
Chetwynd William, Eſq;	*Ditto.*
Cholmondeley Charles, Eſq;	*Cheſhire.*
Cooke George, Eſq;	*Tregony.*
Cornewall Velters, Eſq;	*Herefordſhire.*
Cotton Sir John Hind, Bart.	*Marlborough.* TELLER.
Cotton John, Eſq;	*St Germains.*
Courteney Henry, Eſq;	*Honiton.*
Courteney Sir William, Bart.	*Devonſhire.*
Crawford Patrick, Eſq;	*Airſhire.*
Crawley John, Eſq;	*Marlborough.*
Curzon Sir Nathaniel, Bart.	*Derbyſhire.*
Dalrymple Sir Hew, Bart.	*Dunbar,* &c.
Damer Joſeph, Eſq;	*Weymouth.*
Daſhwood Sir James, Bart.	*Oxfordſhire.*
Daſhwood Sir Francis, Bart.	*Romney.*
Dawkins James, Eſq;	*Woodſtock.*
Delme Peter, Eſq;	*Southampton.*
Deerhurſt Lord,	*Bridport.*
Dering Sir Edward, Bart.	*Kent.*

Digby Hon. Edward, Eſq;	*Warwickſhire.*
Doddington George, Eſq;	*Bridgwater.*
Douglas William, Eſq;	*Roxburghſhire.*
Edwin Charles, Eſq;	*Weſtminſter.*
Fane Hon. Charles, Eſq;	*Taviſtock.*
Fazakerley Nicholas, Eſq;	*Preſton.*
Fellows Coulſton, Eſq;	*Huntingdonſhire.*
Fenwick Robert, Eſq;	*Lancaſter.*
Fenwick Nicholas, Eſq;	*Newcaſtle upon Tyne.*
Firebrace Sir Cordel, Bart.	*Suffolk.*
Foley Thomas, ſen. Eſq;	*Herefordſhire.*
Foley Thomas, jun. Eſq;	*Droitwich.*
Forbes Sir Arthur, Bart.	*Aberdeenſhire.*
Forteſcue Hon. Theophilus, Eſq;	*Devon.*
Fox George, Eſq;	*York.*
Furneſe Henry, Eſq;	*Romney.*
Gibbon Edward, Eſq;	*Southampton.*
Glynne Sir John, Bart.	*Flintſhire.*
Gore Charles, Eſq;	*Hertfordſhire.*
Gore Thomas, Eſq;	*Agmondeſham.*
Gower Hon. Will. Leveſon, Eſq;	*Staffordſhire.*
Gower Hon. Baptiſt Leveſon, Eſq;	*Newcaſtle under Line.*
Granard Earl of,	*Air, Irvin,* &c.
Graham Lord George,	*Stirlingſhire.*
Gray Charles, Eſq;	*Colcheſter.*
Grenville James, Eſq;	*Old Sarum.*
Grenville George, Eſq;	*Bucks.*
Grenville Richard, Eſq;	*Buckingham.*
Groſvenor Sir Robert, Bart.	*Cheſter.*
Groves William, Eſq;	*Coventry.*
Guernſey Lord Viſcount,	*Maidſtone.*
Gundry Nathaniel, Eſq;	*Dorcheſter.*
Gwyn Francis, Eſq;	*Wells.*
Harley Robert, Eſq;	*Leominſter.*
Heathcote George, Eſq;	*London.*
Herbert Philip, Eſq;	*Oxford City.*
Harvey Michael, Eſq;	*Milborn-Port.*
Hill Andrew, Eſq;	*Biſhops-Caſtle.*
Hilſborough Lord,	*Warwick.*
Hoblyn Robert, Eſq;	*Briſtol.*
Holt Sir Liſter, Bart.	*Litchfield.*
Hopton Edward Cope, Eſq;	*Hereford.*
Houblon Jacob, Eſq;	*Hertfordſhire.*
Hylton John, Eſq;	*Carliſle.*
Iſham Sir Edmund, Bart.	*Northamptonſhire.*
Lambert Daniel, Eſq;	*London.*
Lechmere Edmund, Eſq;	*Worceſterſhire.*
Liddel Richard, Eſq;	*Boſſiney.*

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Liſter Thomas, Eſq;	*Clithero.*
Lyſter Richard, Eſq;	*Salop County.*
Long Sir Robert, Bart.	*Wilts.*
Lowndes Richard, Eſq;	*Bucks.*
Lowther Sir James, Bart.	*Cumberland.*
Lumley Hon. James, Eſq;	*Arundel.*
Lyttelton George, Eſq;	*Oakehampton.*
M'Leod Norman, Eſq;	*Inverneſs-ſhire.*
Mackenzie Stewart, Eſq;	*Argyleſhire.*
M'Kye John, Eſq;	*Selkirk, Peebles,* &c.
Mackworth Herbert, Eſq;	*Cardiffe.*
Marſhall Henry, Eſq;	*Agmondeſham.*
Maſters Thomas, Eſq;	*Cirenceſter.*
Mitchell John, Eſq;	*Boſton.*
Montague Hon. Edward, Eſq;	*Huntingdon.*
Mordaunt Sir Charles, Bart.	*Warwickſhire.*
Moore William, Eſq;	*Banbury.*
Muſgrave Sir Philip, Bart.	*Weſtmoreland.*
Newdigate Sir Roger, Bart.	*Middleſex.*
Newland George, L. L. D.	*Gatton.*
Newton Sir Michael, Bart.	*Grantham.*
Noel Hon. James, Eſq;	*Rutlandſhire.*
Northcote Sir Henry, Bart.	*Exeter.*
Nugent Robert, Eſq;	*St Maws.*
Ongley Samuel, Eſq;	*Bedford.*
Ord John, Eſq;	*Morpeth.*
Oſwald James, Eſq;	*Dyſart, Kirkaldy,* &c.
Owen John, Eſq;	*Angleſea.*
Packer Winchcomb Howard, Eſq;	*Berkſhire.*
Parker Armſtead, Eſq;	*Peterborough.*
Poulet William, Eſq;	*Wincheſter.*
Periam John, Eſq;	*Minehead.*
Philips John, Eſq;	*Carmarthen Town.*
Pitt George, Eſq;	*Shaftsbury.*
Pitt William Eſq;	*Old Sarum.*
Pitt John, Eſq;	*Wareham.*
Pleydell Edm. Morton, Eſq;	*Dorſetſhire.*
Popham Edward, Eſq;	*Wilts.*
Portman William Henry, Eſq;	*Somerſetſhire.*
Powell Thomas, Eſq;	*Cardiganſhire.*
Powney Peniſton, Eſq;	*Berkſhire.*
Pratt John, Eſq;	*Sandwich.*
Proby John, Eſq;	*Stamford.*
Prowſe Thomas, Eſq;	*Somerſetſhire.*
Pryſe Thomas, Eſq;	*Cardigan.*
Pytts Edmond, Eſq;	*Worceſterſhire.*
Quarendon Lord Viſcount.	*Oxfordſhire.*
Ramſden Sir John, Bart.	*Apulby.*

Raſhleigh

Raſhleigh Jonathan, Eſq;	*Fowey.*
Raymond Jones, Eſq;	*Melcomb.*
Rowney Thomas, Eſq;	*Oxford City.*
Ruſh John, Eſq;	*Wallingford.*
Saville Samuel, Eſq;	*Colcheſter.*
St Aubin Sir John, Bart.	*Cornwall.*
Selwin Charles, Eſq;	*Ludgerſhall.*
Shippen William, Eſq;	*Newton, Lancaſhire.*
Shirley Seawallis, Eſq;	*Brackley.*
Shuttleworth James, Eſq;	*Preſton.*
Slingsby Sir Henry, Bart.	*Knaresborough.*
Smith Edward, Eſq;	*Leiceſterſhire.*
Smithſon Sir Hugh, Bart.	*Middleſex.*
Somerſet Lord Noel.	*Monmouth.*
Southwell Edward, Eſq;	*Briſtol.*
Spencer Hon John, Eſq;	*Woodſtock.*
Stapylton Sir Miles, Bart.	*Yorkſhire.*
Stuart Hon. John, Eſq;	*Crail, &c.*
Stewart Archibald, Eſq;	*Edinburgh.*
Strange Lord.	*Lancaſhire.*
Strode William, Eſq;	*Reading.*
Sydenham Humphry, Eſq;	*Exeter.*
Tempeſt John, Eſq;	*Durham.*
Thurſby John Harvey, Eſq;	*Wotton Baſſet.*
Tucker John, Eſq;	*Weymouth.*
Turner Sir Edward, Bart.	*Bedwin.*
Twiſden Sir Roger, Bart.	*Kent.*
Vernon Geo. Venables, Eſq;	*Litchfield.*
Vyner Robert, Eſq;	*Lincolnſhire.*
Waller Harry, Eſq;	*Chipping-Wicombe.*
Waller Edmund, Eſq;	*Ditto.*
Walter Peter, jun. Eſq;	*Shaftsbury.*
Warburton Philip Henry, Eſq;	*Cheſter.*
Watſon Hon. Thomas, Eſq;	*Canterbury.*
Webſter Whiſtler, Eſq;	*Grinſtead.*
Wentworth Godfrey, Eſq;	*York.*
Whichcote Thomas, Eſq;	*Lincolnſhire.*
Wigley James, Eſq;	*Leiceſter.*
Wilbraham Randle, Eſq;	*Newcaſtle under Line.*
Williams Richard, Eſq;	*Flint Town.*
Williams Robert, Eſq;	*Montgomeryſhire.*
Winford Thomas, Eſq,	*Hereford.*
Wodehouſe Armine, Eſq;	*Norfolk.*
Wright George, Eſq;	*Leiceſter.*
Wynn Sir Watkin Williams, Bart.	*Denbighſhire.*

ABSENT.

Andover Lord,	*Caſtle-Riſing.*
Aſhby Thomas, Eſq;	*St Albans.*

Barrymore

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Barrymore James Earl of,	*Wigan.*
Barnard Sir John, Kt.	*London.*
Blacket Walter, Eſq;	*Newcaſtle upon Tyne.*
Bligh Hon. John, Eſq;	*Maidſtone.*
Caernarvon Marquiſs of,	*Biſhops-Caſtle.*
Chaſin George, Eſq;	*Dorſetſhire.*
Cheſter Thomas, Eſq;	*Glouceſterſhire.*
Cocks James, Eſq;	*Ryegate.*
Cornbury Lord Viſcount,	*Oxford Univerſity.*
Crewe John, jun. Eſq;	*Cheſhire.*
Curzon William, Eſq;	*Clithero.*
Davers Sir Jermyn, Bart.	*Suffolk.*
Denton George, Eſq;	*Buckingham.*
Douglas Sir John, Bart.	*Dumfrieſſhire.*
Drax Henry, Eſq;	*Wareham.*
Ereſkine Hon. James, Eſq;	*Inverkithen, &c.*
Fenwick John, Eſq;	*Northumberland.*
Foſter Thomas, Eſq;	*Boſſiney.*
Gage Lord Viſcount,	*Tewksbury.*
Hamilton Sir James, Bart.	*Lanerkſhire.*
Inwen Thomas, Eſq;	*Southwark.*
Levinz William, Eſq;	*Nottinghamſhire.*
Lowther Sir Thomas, Bart.	*Lancaſter.*
Manſell Hon. Buſſy, Eſq;	*Glamorganſhire.*
Maſter Legh, Eſq;	*Newton, Lancaſhire.*
Methuen Sir Paul, Kt.	*Brackley.*
Montrath Earl of,	*Heydon.*
Morrice Sir William, Bart.	*Launceſton.*
Newſam James, Eſq;	*St. Germains.*
Peachy Sir John, Bart.	*Midhurſt.*
Pelham Charles, Eſq;	*Beverley.*
Philips Sir Eraſmus, Bart.	*Haverford-Weſt.*
Pitt Thomas, Eſq;	*Oakhampton.*
Richards George, Eſq;	*Bridport.*
Roſs Hon. Charles, Eſq;	*Shire of Roſs.*
Seymour Sir Edward, Bart.	*Salisbury.*
Shuttleworth Richard, Eſq;	*Lancaſhire.*
St John Paulet, Eſq;	*Hampſhire.*
Stanhope Hon. John, Eſq;	*Derby.*
Thrale Ralph, Eſq;	*Southwark.*
Trelawney Charles, Eſq;	*Leſkard.*
Tyrwhitt Sir John, Bart.	*Lincoln.*
Vaughan William, Eſq;	*Merionethſhire.*
Vernon Admiral Edward,	*Ipſwich.*
Warren Borlace, Eſq;	*Nottingham.*
Wortley Edward, Eſq;	*Peterborough.*

Since the Publication of the Proceedings of the First Session, the following SPEECHES *have been communicated to the Editor.*

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Some Additional Speeches on the Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of Affairs for 20 Years

IN the Debate on Lord *Limerick*'s Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of Affairs for the laſt Twenty Years, after Mr *Pelham* had ſpoke in Oppoſition to the Motion, [See Vol. XIII p. 161.] the Lord Viſcount *Quarendon* * reply'd to the following Effect.

Sir,

Ld. Quarendon.

'I am always inclined to ſuſpect a Man who endeavours rather to terrify than perſuade. Exaggerations and Hyperboles are ſeldom made Uſe of by him who has any real Arguments to produce. The Reaſonableneſs of this Motion, (of which I was convinced when I firſt heard it, and of which, I believe, no Man can doubt who is not afraid of the Enquiry propoſed by it) is now in my Opinion evinced by the weak Oppoſition which has been made by the honourable Gentleman, to whoſe Abilities I cannot deny this Atteſtation, that the Cauſe which he cannot defend has very little to hope from any other Advocate.

'And ſurely he cannot, even by thoſe who, whenever he ſpeaks, ſtand prepared to applaud him, be thought to have produced any formidable Argument againſt the Enquiry, who has only urg'd that it is impoſſible to be performed.

'Impoſſibility is a formidable Sound to Ignorance and Cowardice; but Experience has often diſcovered, that it is only a Sound uttered by thoſe who have nothing elſe to ſay; and Courage readily ſurmounts thoſe Obſtacles that ſink the Lazy and Timorous into Deſpair.

'That there are indeed Impoſſibilities in Nature cannot be denied. There may be Schemes formed which no wiſe Man will attempt to execute; becauſe he will know, that they cannot ſucceed; but ſurely the Examination of arithmetical Deductions, or the Conſideration of Treaties and Conferences, cannot be admitted into the Number of impoſſible Deſigns; unleſs, as it may ſometimes happen, the Treaties and Calculations are themſelves unintelligible.

'The only Difficulty that can ariſe, muſt be produced by the Confuſion and Perplexity of our publick Tranſactions, the Inconſiſtency of our Treaties, and the Fallaciouſneſs of our Eſtimates; but I hope no Man will urge theſe as Arguments againſt the Motion. An Enquiry ought to be promoted, that

* Since Earl of Litchfield.

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Confuſion may be reduced to Order, and that the Diſtribution of the publick Money may be regulated. If the Examination be difficult it ought to be ſpeedily performed; becauſe thoſe Difficulties are daily increaſing; if it ſeem impoſſible it ought to be attempted, that thoſe Methods of forming Calculations may be changed which make them impoſſible to be examined.

Lord *Percival*, (whoſe Speech we gave in Vol. XIII. p. 158.) was anſwered by Sir *William Yonge* to the following Purport.

Sir,

Sir W. Yonge.

'However I may be convinced in my own Opinion of the Impracticability of the Enquiry now propoſed, whatever Confidence I may repoſe in the extenſive Knowledge and long Experience of thoſe, by whom it has been openly pronounc'd not only difficult but impoſſible; I think there are Arguments againſt the Motion, which though perhaps not ſtronger in themſelves; (for what Objection can be ſtronger, than Impoſſibility) ought at leaſt more powerfully to incite us to oppoſe it.

'Of the Impoſſibility of executing this Enquiry, thoſe who have propoſed it well deſerve to be convinced not by Arguments but Experience; they deſerve not to be diverted by Perſuaſions from engaging in a Taſk, which they have voluntarily determined to undergo; a Taſk which neither Honour, nor Virtue, nor Neceſſity has impoſed upon them, and to which it may juſtly be ſuſpected, that they would not have ſubmitted upon any other Motives, than thoſe by which their Conduct has hitherto been generally directed, Ambition, and Reſentment.

'Men, who upon ſuch Principles condemn themſelves to Labours which they cannot ſupport, ſurely deſerve to periſh in the Execution of their own Projects, to be overwhelmed by the Burdens which they have laid upon themſelves, and to ſuffer the Diſgrace which always attends the Undertakers of Impoſſibilities; and from which the Powers of Raillery and Ridicule, which they have ſo ſucceſsfully diſplayed on this Occaſion, will not be ſufficient to defend them.

'They have indeed, Sir, with great Copiouſneſs of Language, and great Fertility of Imagination, ſhown the Weakneſs of ſuppoſing this Enquiry impoſſible; they have propoſed a Method of performing it, which they hope will at once confute and irritate their Opponents, but all their Raillery and all their Arguments have in reality been thrown away upon an Attempt to confute what never was advanced.

'They have firſt miſtaken the Aſſertion which they oppoſe,

poſe, and then expoſed its Abſurdity; they have introduced a Bugbear, and then attempted to ſignalize their Courage and their Abilities, by ſhewing that it cannot fright them.

'The Honourable Gentleman, Sir, who firſt mentioned to you the Impoſſibility of this Enquiry, ſpoke only according to the common Acceptation of Words, and was far from intending to imply natural and philoſophical Impoſſibility. He was far from intending to inſinuate, that to examine any Series of Tranſactions, or peruſe any Number of Papers, implied an Abſurdity, or Contrariety to the eſtabliſhed Order of Nature; he did not intend to rank this Deſign with thoſe of building in the Air, or pumping out the Ocean; he intended only to aſſert a moral or popular Impoſſibility, to ſhew that the Scheme was not practicable but by greater Numbers than could be conveniently employed upon it; or in a longer Space of Time than it was rational to aſſign to it; as we ſay it is impoſſible to raiſe Groves upon Rocks, or build Cities in Deſarts; by which we mean only to imply, that there is no Proportion between the Importance of the Effect, and the Force of the Cauſes which muſt operate to produce it; that the Toil will be great, and the Advantage little.

'In this Senſe, Sir, and nothing but Malice or Perverſeneſs could have diſcovered any other, the Motion may be truly ſaid to be impoſſible, but its Impoſſibility ought to be rather the Care of thoſe who make, than of thoſe that oppoſe it; and therefore, I ſhall lay before the Houſe other Reaſons, which unleſs they can be anſwered, will determine me to vote againſt it.

'It cannot be doubted but the Papers which muſt on this Occaſion be examined, contain a great Number of private Tranſactions, which the Intereſt of the Nation and the Honour of our Sovereign require to be concealed. The Syſtem of Policy which the *French* have, within the laſt Century, introduced into the World, has made Negotiation more neceſſary than in any preceeding Time. What was formerly performed by Fleets and Armies, by Invaſions, Sieges, and Battles, has been of late accompliſhed by more ſilent Methods. Empires have been enlarged without Bloodſhed, and Nations reduced to Diſtreſs without the Ravages of hoſtile Armies, by the Diminution of their Commerce, and the Alienation of their Allies.

'For this Reaſon, Sir, it has been neceſſary frequently to engage in private Treaties, to obviate Deſigns ſometimes juſtly, and at other Times perhaps unreaſonably, ſuſpected. It has been proper to act upon remote Suppoſitions, and to conclude Alliances which were only to be publickly owned, in Conſequence

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ſequence of Meaſures taken by ſome other Powers, which Meaſures were ſometimes laid aſide, and the Treaty therefore was without Effect. In ſome of theſe proviſionary Contracts, it is eaſy to conceive, that Deſigns were formed not to the Advantage of ſome Powers, whom yet we do not treat as Enemies, which were only to be made publick by the Execution of them: In others, perhaps, ſome Conceſſions were made to us, in Conſideration of the Aſſiſtance that we promiſed, by which the Weakneſs of our Allies may be diſcovered, and which we cannot diſcloſe without making their Enemies more inſolent, and increaſing that Danger from which they apply to us for Security and Protection.

'If to this Repreſentation of the Nature of the Papers, with which our Offices have been filled by the Negotiations of the laſt twenty Years, any thing were neceſſary to be added, it may be farther alledged, that it has been long the Practice of every Nation on this ſide of the Globe, to procure private Intelligence of the Deſigns and Expectations of the neighbouring Powers, to penetrate into the Councils of Princes and the Cloſets of Miniſters, to diſcover the Inſtructions of Ambaſſadors, and the Orders of Generals, to learn the Intention of Fleets before they are equipt, and of Armies before they are levied, and to provide not only againſt immediate and viſible Hoſtilities, but to obviate remote and probable Dangers.

'It need not be declared in this Aſſembly, that this cannot always be done without employing Men who abuſe the Confidence repoſed in them, a Practice on which I ſhall not at this Time trouble the Houſe with my Opinion, nor interrupt the preſent Debate, by any Attempt to juſtify or condemn it. This I think may be very reaſonably alledged, that whether the Employment of ſuch Perſons be defenſible by the reciprocal Practice of Nations or not, it becomes at leaſt thoſe that corrupt them, and pay them for their Treachery, not to expoſe them to Vengeance, to Torture, or to Ruin, not to betray thoſe Crimes which they have hired them to commit, or give them up to Puniſhment, to which they have made themſelves liable only by their Inſtigation, and for their Advantage.

'That private Compacts between Nations and Sovereigns ought to be kept inviolably ſecret, cannot be doubted by any Man who conſiders, that Secrecy is one of the Conditions of thoſe Treaties, without which they had not been concluded; and therefore that to diſcover them is to violate them, to break down the Securities of human Society, to deſtroy mutual Truſt, and introduce into the World univerſal Confuſion. For nothing leſs can be produced by a Diſregard of thoſe

thoſe Ties which link Nations in Confederacies, and produce Confidence and Security, and which enable the Weak by Union to reſiſt the Attacks of powerful Ambition. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'How much it would injure the Honour of our Sovereign to be charged with the Diſſolution of Concord, and the Subverſion of the general Bulwarks of publick Faith, is ſuperfluous to explain. To know the Condition to which a Compliance with this Motion, would reduce the *Britiſh* Nation, we need only turn our Eyes downwards upon the hourly Scenes of common Life; we need only attend to the Occurrences which croud perpetually upon our View, and conſider the calamitous State of that Man of whom it is generally known, that he cannot be truſted, and that Secrets communicated to him are in reality ſcatter'd among Mankind.

'Every one knows that ſuch a Man can expect none of the Advantages or Pleaſures of Friendſhip, that he cannot tranſact Affairs with others upon Terms of Equality, that he muſt purchaſe the Favours of thoſe that are more powerful than himſelf, and frighten thoſe into Compliance with his Deſigns who have any thing to fear from him; that he muſt give uncommon Security for the Performance of his Covenants; that he can have no Influence but that of Money, which will probably become every Day leſs, that his Succeſs will multiply his Enemies, and that in Misfortunes he will be without Refuge.

'The Condition of Nations collectively conſidered is not different from that of private Men, their Proſperity is produced by the ſame Conduct, and their Calamities drawn upon them by the ſame Errors, Negligences, or Crimes; and therefore, ſince he that betrays Secrets in private Life indiſputably forfeits his Claim to Truſt, and ſince he that can be no longer truſted is on the Brink of Ruin, I cannot but conclude that, as by this Motion all the Secrets of our Government muſt be inevitably betrayed, my Duty to his Majeſty, my Love of my Country, and my Obligations to diſcharge with Fidelity the Truſt which my Conſtituents have conferred upon me, oblige me to oppoſe it.

Mr *Lyttelton* * ſpoke next in Favour of the Inquiry.

Sir,

'It always portends well to thoſe who diſpute on the Side of Truth and Reaſon, when their Opponents appear not wholly to be hardened againſt the Force of Argument, when they ſeem deſirous to gain the Victory, not by Superiority of Numbers but of Reaſon, and attempt rather to convince than to terrify or bribe. For tho' Men are not in queſt of Truth Mr Lyttelton.

* Secretary to his Royal Highneſs the Prince.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

themſelves, nor deſirous to point it out to others; yet while they are obliged to ſpeak with an Appearance of Sincerity, they muſt neceſſarily afford the Unprejudiced and Attentive an Opportunity of diſcovering the Right. While they think themſelves under a Neceſſity of Reaſoning, they cannot but ſhew the Force of a juſt Argument, by the Unſucceſsfulneſs of their Endeavours to confute it, and the Propriety of an uſeful and ſalutary Motion, by the ſlight Objections which they raiſe againſt it. They cannot but find themſelves ſometimes forced to diſcover what they can never be expected to acknowledge, the Weakneſs of their own Reaſons, by deſerting them, when they are preſſed with contrary Aſſertions, and ſeeking a Subterfuge in new Arguments equally inconcluſive and contemptible. They ſhow the Superiority of their Opponents, like other Troops, by retreating before them, and forming one Fortification behind another, in hopes of wearying thoſe whom they cannot hope to repulſe.

'Of this Conduct we have had already an Inſtance in the preſent Debate; a Debate managed with ſuch Vigour, Order and Reſolution as ſufficiently ſhows the Advantage of regular Diſcipline long continued, and proves, that Troops may retain their Skill and Spirit, even when they are deprived of that Leader, to whoſe Inſtructions and Example they were indebted for them. When firſt this Motion was offered, it ſeems to have been their chief Hope to divert us from it by Outcries of Impoſſibility, by repreſenting it as the Demand of Men unacquainted with the State of our Offices, or the Multiplicity of Tranſactions in which the indefatigable Induſtry of our Miniſters has been employed; and they have therefore endeavoured to perſuade us, that they are only diſcouraging us from an inſuperable Labour, and adviſing us to deſiſt from Meaſures which we cannot live to accompliſh.

'But when they found, Sir, that their Exaggerations produced Merriment inſtead of Terror, that their Opponents were determined to try their Strength againſt Impoſſibility, that they were reſolved to launch out into this boundleſs Ocean of Enquiry; an Ocean of which they have been boldly told, that it has neither Shore nor Bottom, and that whoever ventures into it muſt be toſt about for Life. When they diſcovered that this was not able to ſhake our Reſolution, or move us to any other Diſpoſition, they thought it proper to explain away their Aſſertion of Impoſſibility, by making a Kind of Diſtinction between Things impoſſible, and Things which cannot be perform'd; and finding it neceſſary to enlarge their Plea, they have now aſſerted that this Enquiry is both impoſſible and inexpedient.

'Its

'Its Impoſſibility, Sir, has been already ſufficiently diſcuſſed, and ſhown to mean only a Difficulty which the Unſkilfulneſs of our Miniſters has produced; for, Tranſactions can only produce Difficulties to the Enquirer, when they are confuſed; and Confuſion can only be the Effect of Ignorance or Neglect. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'Artifice is, indeed, one more Source of Perplexity; it is the Intereſt of that Man whoſe Cauſe is bad to ſpeak unintelligibly in the Defence of it, and of him whoſe Actions cannot bear to be examined, to hide them in Diſorder, to engage his Purſuers in a Labyrinth, that they may not trace his Steps, and diſcover his Retreat; and what Intricacies may be produced by Fraud, co-operating with Subtilty, it is not poſſible to tell.

'I do not however believe, that all the Art of Wickedneſs can elude the Enquiries of a *Britiſh* Parliament, quickned by Zeal for the publick Happineſs. The Sagacity of our Predeceſſors has often detected Crimes concealed with more Policy, than can be aſcribed to thoſe whoſe Conduct is now to be examined, and dragged the Authors of National Calamities to Puniſhment from their darkeſt Retreats. The Expediency therefore of this Motion is now to be conſidered, and ſurely it will not require long Reflection to prove, that it is proper, when the Nation is oppreſſed with Calamities, to enquire by what Miſconduct they were brought upon it; when immenſe Sums have been raiſed by the moſt oppreſſive Methods of Exaction, to aſk why they were demanded, and how they were expended; when penal Laws have been partially executed, to examine by what Authority they were ſuſpended, and by what they were enforced; and when the Parliament has for twenty Years implicitely obeyed the Direction of one Man; when it has been known throughout the Nation before any Queſtion was propoſed, how it would be decided; to ſearch out the Motive of that regular Compliance and to examine whether the Miniſter was reverenced for his Wiſdom and Virtue, or feared for his Power, or courted for the publick Money; whether he owed his Prevalence to the Confidence or Corruption of his Followers?

'It cannot ſurely be thought inexpedient, to enquire into the Reaſons for which our Merchants were for many Years ſuffered to be plundered, or for which a War ſolicited by the general Voice of the whole Nation was delayed; into the Reaſons for which our Fleets were fitted out only to coaſt upon the Ocean, and connive at the Departure of Squadrons and the Tranſportation of Armies, to ſuffer our Allies to be invaded, and our Traders ruined and enſlaved.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'It is in my Opinion convenient to examine with the utmoſt Rigour, why Time was granted to our Enemies to fortify themſelves againſt us, while a ſtanding Army preyed upon our People? Why Forces unacquainted with the Uſe of Arms were ſent againſt them under the Command of Leaders equally ignorant? And why we have ſuffered their Privateers in the mean Time to rove at large over the Ocean, and inſult us upon our own Coaſts? Why we did not reſcue our Sailors from Captivity, when Opportunities of Exchange were in our Power? And why we robbed our Merchants of their Crews by rigorous Impreſſes, without employing them either to guard our Trade, or ſubdue our Enemies.

'If the Parliament is not to be ſuffered to enquire into Affairs like theſe, it is no longer any Security to the People, that they have the Right of electing Repreſentatives; and unleſs they may carry their Enquiries back as far as they ſhall think it neceſſary, the moſt acute Sagacity may be eaſily eluded; Cauſes may be very remote from their Conſequences, the original Motives of a long Train of wicked Meaſures may lye hid in ſome private Tranſaction of former Years, and thoſe Advantages which our Enemies have been of late ſuffered to obtain, were perhaps ſold them at ſome forgotten Congreſs by ſome ſecret Article.

'Such are probably the private Tranſactions which the Honourable Gentleman is ſo much afraid of expoſing to the Light: Tranſactions in which the Intereſt of this Nation has been meanly yielded up by Cowardice, or ſold by Treachery; in which *Britain* has been conſidered as a Province ſubordinate to ſome other Country, or in which the Miniſter has enriched himſelf by the Sacrifice of the publick Rights.

'It has been, indeed, alledged with ſome Degree of Candour, that many of our Treaties were Proviſions againſt Invaſions which perhaps were never intended, and calculated to defeat Meaſures which only our own Cowardice diſpoſed us to fear. That ſuch Treaties have been made, that of *Hanover* is a ſufficient Witneſs; but however frequently they may occur, they may ſurely be diſcovered with very little Diſadvantage to the Nation; they will prove only the Weakneſs of thoſe that made them, who were at one time intimidated by chimerical Terrors, and at another lulled into Confidence by airy Security.

'The Conceſſions from Foreign Powers which have been likewiſe mentioned, ought ſurely not to be produced as Arguments againſt the Motion; for, what could more excite the Curioſity of the Nation. If, indeed, this Motion were in reality produced by Malevolence or Reſentment; if none were expected

expected to concur in it but thoſe who envied the Abilities, or had felt the Power of the late Miniſter, it might be perhaps defeated by ſuch Inſinuations; for, nothing could more certainly regain his Reputation, or exalt him to more abſolute Authority, than Proofs that he had obtained for us any Conceſſions from foreign Powers. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'If any advantageous Terms have been granted us, he muſt be confeſſed to have ſo far diſcharged his Truſt to his Allies, that he has kept them with the utmoſt Caution from the Knowledge of the People, who have heard during all his Adminiſtration of nothing but Subſidies, Submiſſion, and Compliance paid to almoſt every Prince on the Continent who has had the Confidence to demand them; and if by this Enquiry any Diſcovery to the Diſadvantages of our Allies ſhould be ſtruck out, he may with great Sincerity alledge, that it was made without his Conſent.

'Another Objection to this Enquiry is, that the Spies which are retained in Foreign Courts may be detected by it, that the Canals of our Intelligence will be for ever ſtopped, and that we ſhall henceforth have no Knowledge of the Deſigns of Foreign Powers, but what may be honeſtly attained by Penetration and Experience. Spies are, indeed, a Generation for whoſe Security I have not much Regard, but for whom I am on this Occaſion leſs ſolicitous, as I believe very few of them will be affected by this Motion.

'The Conduct of our Miniſters has never diſcovered ſuch an Acquaintance with the Deſigns of neighbouring Princes, as could be ſuſpected to be obtained by any uncommon Methods, or they have very little improved the Opportunities which early Information put into their Power; for they have always been baffled and deceived. Either they have employed no Spies, or their Spies have been directed to elude them by falſe Intelligence, or true Intelligence has been of no Uſe; and if any of theſe Aſſertions be true, the publick will not ſuffer by the Motion.

'It was juſtly obſerved by the Honourable Gentleman, that a Parallel may be properly drawn between a Nation and a private Man, and by Conſequence between a trading Nation and a Trader. Let us therefore conſider what muſt be the State of that Trader, who ſhall never inſpect or ſtate his Accounts, who ſhall ſuffer his Servants to traffic in the Dark with his Stock and on his Credit, and who ſhall permit them to tranſact Bargains, in his Name, without enquiring whether they are advantageous, or whether they are performed.

'Every Man immediately marks out a Trader thus infatuated

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ated as on the Brink of Bankruptcy and Ruin; every one will eaſily foreſee, that his Servants will take Advantage of his Credulity, and proceed hourly to groſſer Frauds; that they will grow rich by betraying his Intereſt, that they will neglect his Affairs to promote their own, that they will plunder him till he has nothing left, and ſeek then for Employment among thoſe to whom they have recommended themſelves by ſelling their Truſt. His Neighbours, who eaſily foreſee his approaching Miſery, retire from him by Degrees, diſunite their Buſineſs from his, and leave him to fall without involving others in his Ruin.

'Such muſt be the Fate of a Trader whom Idleneſs or a blind Confidence in the Integrity of others hinders from attending to his own Affairs, unleſs he rouſes from his Slumber and recovers from his Infatuation. And what is to be done by the Man who, having for more than twenty Years neglected ſo neceſſary an Employment, finds what muſt neceſſarily be found in much leſs Time, his Accounts perplexed, his Credit depreſſed, and his Affairs diſordered? What remains, but that he ſuffer that Diſorder to proceed no farther, that he reſolutely examine all the Tranſactions which he has hitherto overlooked, that he repair thoſe Errors which are yet retrievable, and reduce his Trade into Method, that he doom thoſe Servants, by whom he has been robbed or deceived, to the Puniſhment which they deſerve, and recover from them that Wealth which they have accumulated by Rapacity and Fraud.

'By this Method only can the Credit of the Trader or the Nation be repaired, and this is the Method which the Motion recommends; a Motion with which therefore every Man may be expected to comply who deſires, that his Country ſhould once more recover its Influence and Power, who wiſhes to ſee *Great Britain* again courted and feared, and her Monarch conſidered as the Arbiter of the World, the Protector of the true Religion, and the Defender of the Liberties of Mankind.

After Mr *Philips*'s Speech, (VOL. XIII. p. 149) for the Motion, Col. *Cholmondeley* ſpoke againſt it.

Sir,

Col. Cholmondeley.

'It has been in all foregoing Ages the Cuſtom for Men to ſpeak of the Government with Reverence, even when they oppoſed its Meaſures or projected its Diſſolution; nor has it been thought, in any Time before our own, decent or Parliamentary to give way to Satire or Invective, or indulge a petulant Imagination, to endeavour to level all Orders by con-

contemptuous Reflections, or to court the Populace by echoing their Language or adopting their Sentiments. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'This Method of gaining the Reputation of Patriotism has been unknown till the present Age, and reserved for the present Leaders of the People, who will have the Honour to stand recorded as the original Authors of Anarchy, the great Subverters of Order, and the first Men who dared to pronounce, that all the Secrets of Government ought to be made publick.

'It has been hitherto understood in all Nations, that those who were intrusted with Authority had likewise a Claim to Respect and Confidence, that they were chosen for the Superiority of their Abilities and the Reputation of their Virtue; and that therefore it was reasonable to consign to their Management, the Direction of such Affairs as by their own Nature require Secrecy.

'But this ancient Doctrine, by which Subordination has been so long preserved, is now to be set aside for new Principles which may flatter the Pride, and incite the Passions of the People: We are now to be told, that Affairs are only kept secret, because they will not bear Examination; that Men conceal not those Transactions in which they have succeeded, but those in which they have failed; that they are only inclined to hide their Follies or their Crimes; and that to examine their Conduct in the most open Manner is only to secure the Interest of the Publick.

'Thus has the Nation been taught to expect, that the Counsels of the Cabinet should be dispersed in the publick Papers; that their Governors should declare the Motives of their Measures, and discover the Demands of our Allies, and Schemes of our Policy; and that the People should be consulted upon every Emergence, and enjoy the Right of instructing not only their own Representatives but the Ministers of the Crown.

'In this Debate the Mention of secret Treaties has been received with Contempt and Ridicule, the Ministers have been upbraided with chimerical Fears, and unnecessary Provisions against Attacks which never were designed; they have been alledged to have no other Interest in View than their own, when they endeavour to mislead Enquirers; and to have in reality nothing to keep from publick View but their own Ignorance or Wickedness.

'It cannot surely be seriously asserted by Men of Knowledge and Experience, that there are no Designs formed by wise Governments, the Success of which depends upon Secrecy; nor can it be asserted, that the Enquiry now proposed will be-

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

betray nothing from which our Enemies may receive Advantage.

'If we ſhould ſuppoſe, that all our Schemes are either fully accompliſhed, or irretrievably defeated, it will not even then be prudent to diſcover them, ſince they will enable our Enemies to form Conjectures of the future from the paſt, and to obviate hereafter the ſame Deſigns, when it ſhall be thought neceſſary to reſume them.

'But in reality nothing is more irrational than to ſuppoſe this a ſafer Time than any other for ſuch general Diſcoveries; for why ſhould it be imagined, that our Engagements are not ſtill depending, and our Treaties yet in Force? and what can be more diſhonourable or imprudent, than to deſtroy at once the whole Scheme of foreign Policy, to diſſolve our Alliances, and deſtroy the Effects of ſuch long and ſuch expenſive Negotiations without firſt examining, whether they will be beneficial or detrimental to us?

'Nor is it only with reſpect to foreign Affairs that Secrecy is neceſſary, there are undoubtedly many domeſtic Tranſactions which it is not proper to communicate to the whole Nation. There is ſtill a Faction among us, which openly deſires the Subverſion of our preſent Eſtabliſhment; a Faction, indeed, not powerful, and which grows, I hope, every Day weaker, but which is favoured, or at leaſt imagines itſelf favoured by thoſe who have ſo long diſtinguiſhed themſelves by oppoſing the Meaſures of the Government. Againſt theſe Men, whoſe Hopes are revived by every Commotion, who ſtudiouſly heighten every Subject of Diſcontent, and add their Outcries to every Clamour, it is not doubted but Meaſures are formed, by which their Deſigns are diſcovered and their Schemes broken; nor can it be ſuppoſed, that this is done without the Aſſiſtance of ſome who are received with Confidence among them, and who probably paſs for the moſt Zealous of their Party.

'Many other domeſtic Occaſions of Expence might be mentioned, of Expence which operates in private, and produces Benefits which are only not acknowledged, becauſe they are not known, but which could no longer be applied to the ſame uſeful Purpoſes, if the Channels through which it paſſes were laid open. I cannot therefore forbear to offer my Opinion, that this Motion by which all the Secrets of our Government will be diſcovered, will tend to the Confuſion of the preſent Syſtem of *Europe*, to the abſolute Ruin of our Intereſt in foreign Courts, and to the Embarraſſment of our domeſtick Affairs. I cannot therefore conceive how any Advantages can be expected by the moſt eager Perſecutors of the late

late Miniſtry, which can even in their Opinion deſerve to be purchaſed at ſo dear a Rate. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

He was replied to by Mr *Pitt*, [See Vol. XIII. p. 169.] and then Col. *Mordaunt* ſpoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

Col. Mordaunt. ‘ Notwithſtanding the Zeal with which the Honourable Gentleman has urged the Neceſſity of this Enquiry, a Zeal of which, I think, it may at leaſt be ſaid, that it is too vehement and acrimonious to be the mere Reſult of publick Spirit unmix'd with Intereſt or Reſentment, he has yet been ſo far unſucceſsful in his Reaſoning, that he has not produced in me any Conviction, or weakened any of the Impreſſions which the Arguments of thoſe whom he oppoſes had made upon me.

‘ He has contented himſelf with recapitulating ſome of the Benefits which may be hoped for from the Enquiry, he has repreſented in the ſtrongeſt Terms the ſuppoſed Miſconduct of the Miniſtry; he has aggravated all the Appearances of Wickedneſs or Negligence, and then has inferred the Uſefulneſs of a general Enquiry for the Puniſhment of paſt Offences, and the Prevention of the like Practices in future Times.

‘ That he has diſcovered great Qualifications for Invective, and that his Declamation was well calculated to inflame thoſe who have already determined their Opinion, and who are therefore only reſtrained from ſuch Meaſures as are now recommended by natural Caution and Sedateneſs, I do not deny; but ſurely he does not expect to gain Proſelytes by Aſſertions without Proof, or to produce any Alteration of Sentiments without attempting to anſwer the Arguments, which have been offered againſt his Opinion.

‘ It has been urged with great Appearance of Reaſon, that an Enquiry, ſuch as is now propoſed, with whatever Proſpects of Vengeance, of Juſtice, or of Advantage it may flatter us at a Diſtance, will be in reality detrimental to the Publick; becauſe it will diſcover all the Secrets of our Government, lay all our Negotiations open to the World, will ſhow what Powers we moſt fear, or moſt truſt; and furniſh our Enemies with Means of defeating all our Schemes, and counter-acting all our Meaſures.

‘ This appears to me, Sir, the chief Argument againſt the Motion, an Argument of which the Force cannot but be diſcovered by thoſe whoſe Intereſt it is to confute it, and of which therefore by appearing to neglect it, they ſeem to confeſs, that it is unanſwerable; and therefore, ſince I cannot find the Motion juſtified otherwiſe than by loud Declarations of its Propriety, and violent Invectives againſt the Miniſtry, I hope

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. I hope, that I ſhall eſcape at leaſt the Cenſure of the Calm and Impartial, though I venture to declare, that I cannot approve it; and with Regard to the Clamorous and the Turbulent, I have long learned to deſpiſe their Menaces, becauſe I have hitherto found them only the Boaſts of Impotence.

ADDITIONAL SPEECHES in the Debate on the Lord Limerick's *Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of* Robert *Earl of* Orford, *During the laſt* TEN *Years of his being Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.*

LORD *Limerick*, (whoſe Speech we gave Vol. XIII. p. 189) was ſeconded by Sir *John St Aubyn** to the following Effect.

Sir,

Sir J. St Aubyn. 'I hope you will forgive me, if I think it my Duty to riſe up once more in Behalf of the People, to ſecond a Propoſition for an Enquiry; and I could wiſh, that former Defeats had not made it neceſſary to point it in ſo particular a Manner. But a general Enquiry has been denied; we are now reduc'd to the Neceſſity of confining it to one Object; and if we fail in this, all the Doors of Enquiry will be ſhut againſt us. The Supplies indeed will be granted, but National Grievances muſt go unredreſs'd.

'It is as little pleaſing to me as to any Gentleman in this Houſe to be engag'd in a perſonal Motion; but when I conſider this noble Earl as the ſuſpected Author of National Calamity; when nothing is deſir'd but a fair Enquiry into his Conduct, to manifeſt his Innocence, or detect his Guilt; when Matters are arrived at this Point, that there is an open Conteſt between him and the People; when the Laws of my Country, the Right of Parliamentary Enquiry, are to be ſuſpended to cover his Retreat; it is, I think, no longer a perſonal Motion: It is a publick Queſtion, in which perhaps the Fate of our Conſtitution is involved. If he was united to me by the cloſeſt Ties of long Intimacy and mutual Affection, I would ſacrifice my private Friendſhip to publick Spirit and National Juſtice.

'But in every Conſideration of this kind, great Terrors have been raiſed at the Mention of a Secret Committee. It is called a moſt dangerous Delegation; and to intimidate the Aſſer-

* This Gentleman had the Honour of every Vote in the Houſe upon the Ballot for the Secret Committee. The Number of Members preſent was 518. See Vol. XIII. p. 218

Aſſertors of Juſtice it is repreſented ſo formidable, as to be able to controul that very Body from which it derives its Powers; and foreign Examples are produced, no ways ſimilar, under different Conſtitutions, to ſupport this Allegation. It has been called a Committee of Accuſation, Tryal and Judgment. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'But, Sir, it is a conſtitutional Appointment, always practiſed when high Offenders are to be called to Juſtice. The noble Earl himſelf has been the great Patron * of ſuch Appointments. It is a Committee of Enquiry which is only to proceed no farther than the Extent of their Commiſſion, revocable at your Pleaſure. It is only to collect and digeſt the Materials of Evidence, to produce Facts ſupported by ſuch Evidence, Facts afterwards to be canvaſs'd, to undergo a ſtrict Examination in the Houſe, before you will found upon them a Vote of Accuſation.

'You yourſelves are but Accuſers, and your Accuſation muſt be carried to an higher Aſſembly for Tryal and Judgment. And it will not be an Enquiry into ſlight Facts, every little Error of Adminiſtration which human Prudence could not prevent, where the Party accuſed may be unable to recollect the Articles of his Defence; but into Facts of an high and enormous Nature; the Loſs of National Honour, publick Grievances, premeditated Schemes of Corruption to render the independent Branches of our Conſtitution ſubſervient to a Dictatorial Power; a Power unknown to our Laws, and neceſſarily deſtructive to the Liberties of the People; a Power which muſt be reſtrained at this Time by a ſtrict and effectual Enquiry, or give me leave to ſay, it will be impracticable for any new Adminiſtration to carry on this Government with Reputation and Honour. They muſt have Reputation, they muſt have Confidence. Mankind are well inclined to truſt them; nor do I fear but they will deſerve Confidence, and then they need not doubt of Authority and Support.

'But firſt the Nation muſt have this Aſſurance, this Earneſt, that it is to be an Adminiſtration of Government, not a Continuation of one and the ſame Scheme of miniſterial Power; an Adminiſtration founded upon the Conſtitution, which I underſtand to be that wide, that extended Baſis upon which only it can ſtand ſecure. With this View it is, that the Nation expects an Enquiry, and ſurely no Man will decline your Enquiry, who does not fear your Juſtice.

This

* The Earl of Orford was Chairman of the Secret Committee for Inquiring into the Conduct of Queen Anne's laſt Miniſtry. Anno, 1715.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

This Motion was oppoſed by Sir *William Yonge*, to the following Effect.

Sir,

Sir W. Yonge.

'That little can be ſaid in Juſtification of this Motion which was not urged in favour of the former is, I believe, true; ſince if any thing new could have been produced, it might be reaſonably believed, that the ſame Invectives would not have been ſo ſoon repeated, and that we ſhould have heard Arguments inſtead of Declamations.

'The Gentleman who ſpoke laſt was pleaſed to aſſert, that this Motion is both juſt and ſeaſonable; and therefore ſuch as ought to be complied with: But ſurely ſince he confeſſes, that it is a Motion nearly of the ſame Kind with that which was ſo lately rejected, he does not expect, that ſo much Reverence ſhould be paid to his Opinion, unſupported by Evidence or Reaſon, as that this Houſe ſhould now approve what a few Days ago they thought improper, unleſs ſome new Arguments are produced to change their Sentiments; and therefore he ought not to have contented himſelf with aſſerting what was principally to be proved.

'If the Arguments which were uſed on the former Occaſion are of equal Force in Favour of this Motion, it may with Reaſon be imagined, that the Arguments by which the Defenders of the late Motion were defeated, may be again uſed againſt them, and may perhaps now produce the ſame Effect.

'That this Motion, Sir, is either ſo juſt or ſeaſonable as it has been repreſented, I hope, I may be allowed to doubt, without incurring the Cenſure which has been ſo generally beſtowed upon all thoſe who have hitherto approved the Meaſures of the Government, and endeavoured to ſhew, that Liberty is conſiſtent with Allegiance, and that to preſerve the Happineſs of the People, it is not always neceſſary to obſtruct the Deſigns of the Court.

'It has never yet been thought a Proof of the Goodneſs of a Cauſe, that Slander and Reproach have been made uſe of to ſupport it. It has generally been imagined, that Truth is able to ſtand without the Aſſiſtance of Artifice, and Reaſon deſires only to be heard without Prejudice or Paſſion; and conſequently thoſe who condemn the Principles of their Adverſaries before they examine their Actions, and who endeavour to captivate the Publick with loud Boaſts of their own Integrity, and pathetical Declarations of their Contempt of Money, of their Zeal for the public Happineſs, and their Reſolution to adhere to the Intereſt of the Nation in the midſt of Diſcouragements, and Temptations, have by the wiſeſt

Part

Part of the People been always ſuſpected by hypocritical Profeſſions, and of Inclinations to aggrandiſe themſelves by the Fall of thoſe whom they oppoſe. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'But our Patriots, Sir, have not contented themſelves with Encomiums on the Purity of their own Hearts, the Rectitude of their Intentions, or the Force of their Abilities, they have not thought it ſufficient to exalt themſelves unleſs they likewiſe depreſſed others; whatever Qualities, therefore, they thought it neceſſary to aſcribe to themſelves, they judged it convenient to deny to every other Perſon, and not ſatisfied with being Wiſe and Brave and Virtuous in the ſame Degree with others, they have for many Years appropriated every human Excellence, and left no Choice to thoſe who have preſumed to differ from them, but of Folly or Corruption, of Ignorance, or Diſregard of the true Intereſt of our Country, of a blind Submiſſion to the Dictates of the Miniſter, or a perfidious Proſtitution of their Votes for Power and for Wealth.

'Such are the Invectives, Sir, which with unwearied Induſtry they have from Year to Year ſcattered over the Nation; by theſe they have perſuaded the Credulous and Weak among thoſe whoſe State of Life hinders them from obtaining any Knowledge of publick Meaſures, that they who are in reality moſt ſtudious of their Happineſs, they whoſe conſtant Endeavour it has always been to preſerve our Conſtitution unviolated, and to ſecure to the preſent Royal Family a firm Poſſeſſion of the Throne, were the Hirelings of Men combined for the Deſtruction of Freedom, the Slaves of a Miniſter whoſe only View was to perpetuate his Power. By thoſe Plunderers, as they are told, all the Profit of their Commerce was ſnatched out of their Hands, by theſe Oppreſſors they were loaded with unneceſſary Exactions, and harraſſed with ſtanding Troops, whoſe real Uſe was to awe them into Submiſſion to Tyranny, and to enforce the Execution of cruel Laws, to ſuperintend the Infliction of unneceſſary Hardſhips.

'By ſuch Exclamations as theſe confidently vented, many People have imagined, that there muſt be ſome latent Danger which they did not foreſee, or ſome ſecret Machinations which they had not detected, and that ſuch vehement Outcries could not be continued without ſome real Injury either ſuffered or threatened; others, perhaps, more ſagacious, but leſs ſincere, might join in the Cry, when it began to be echoed by the People, from the natural Deſire of Reputation and Applauſe, and confirm thoſe Opinions by their Suffrages, which they could not oppoſe without the

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Diſadvantage of Singularity, and the Danger of multiplying their Enemies and alienating their Friends.

'The Succeſs of theſe Arts has encouraged the Favourers of the Motion, now under our Conſideration, to try them once more; thoſe whom their Arguments cannot gain are, therefore, to be repreſented as Men, not deſirous of diſcovering Truth, as Men who have perplexed their Underſtandings by their own Sophiſtries, and whom a long Courſe of abandoned Wickedneſs has harden'd againſt Conviction; and they hope, that no Man will be ſo hardy as to riſe up in Defiance of Cenſures ſo ſevere, and declare himſelf an Adverſary to a Motion offered, and vindicated, by the Men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this corrupt Age, as the only Lovers of their Country, the Patrons of diſtreſſed Integrity, and the Adherents to deſerted Truth.

'But it has been very common among them, notwithſtanding that Height of political Wiſdom, at which they have arriv'd, to form chimerical Hopes, and to be overthrown after they have ſounded a Triumph: What may be their Fate on the preſent Occaſion I am not able to foreſee; but ſhall make no Scruple to declare, that if their Declamations produce on others no greater Effects than upon me, they have been only Shot ſcattered in the Air that have fallen to the Ground without Uſe and without Regard; for I am yet hardy enough to affirm, that, in my Opinion, the Motion is neither juſt in itſelf, nor proper in the preſent State of our Affairs.

'In examining the Juſtice of this Motion, I am very far from intending to queſtion, whether the Parliament has a Right to enquire into the Conduct of Affairs or the Diſtribution of Money; this is indeed a Right inconteſtable and ſacred, the Foundation of all other Rights, and the Palladium of our Conſtitution: It was by the timely Exertion of this great Privilege, that our Anceſtors have been ſo often in former Ages reſcued from Deſtruction, and by this our Poſterity muſt preſerve that Liberty which we ſhall not doubt to tranſmit to them without Violation; unleſs Meaſures are purſued very different from thoſe of the Miniſter, whoſe Conduct we are now called upon to examine.

'But the Exertion of this Privilege, which is the laſt Effort of our Conſtitution, ought not, in my Opinion, to be propoſed on common Occaſions; for the Deciſion of diſputable Queſtions, or the Redreſs of trifling Grievances, which may be remedied without the Solemnity of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and without the univerſal Alarm which Proceedings ſo awful ſpread over the Nation. The Crimes which engage the

the Parliament in their Detection ought to be such as endanger the Common-wealth, and which cannot be left unpunished without inciting others to the same Corruption by the Prospect of the same Impunity. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'That the Veneration due to the Legislature should be very solicitously preserved will, I suppose, Sir, be denied by no Man, who considers, that Obedience of the Many to the Few can last no longer than Respect; and as in private Life a Man who disturbs his Friends with loud Outcries and violent Efforts on trifling Occasions, never fails to become contemptible, and to want the Assistance in real Perplexity and Distress, which he used so earnestly to request without Necessity: So in the Transaction of publick Affairs, if the Parliament employs its utmost Power, and asserts its highest Privileges only to gratify Resentment, or to punish casual Negligence or petty Miscarriages, the most solemn Act of the Legislature may in time be considered as an empty Form, and will neither afford any Security to the Nation, nor produce any Terror in wicked Ministers.

'In most Forms of Government, there is some Power which is never exerted, but upon the most pressing Emergencies; some Office which is never erected but when the Publick is in real Danger, and some Resort to which no Application is made till every other Expedient has failed; and by these, great Advantages are often procured, and Affairs retrieved from a State almost desperate, because they are never prostituted for petty Purposes; and when they are thought necessary every Man is convinced that Danger is at hand, incited by his Regard to his own Safety to contribute his utmost Endeavours to that of the Publick.

'Such among us is the Inquiry that is proposed by this Motion, which Prudence, therefore, directs us to reject as disproportioned to the Occasion: For, what Crime is there charged with any Appearance of Justice upon the noble Person, that can reasonably raise an Alarm of Danger in the Nation, or incite the Parliament to a formal Inquiry?

'Among all the Invectives that Artifice has invented or Malice uttered against him, I remember none which could justly be considered as important enough to engage the Attention of this Assembly, or none but what he has on some Occasion fully confuted; and therefore, as I cannot think the Motion prudent with Regard to the Nation, in which it must necessarily produce some Disturbance, I am likewise inclined to censure it as unjust with respect to him to whom it immediately relates.

'An Inquiry undoubtedly implies Suspicion, and Suspicion

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

is always in ſome Degree injurious to his Character on whom it falls; a Man that is tried and acquitted, is ſtill conſidered as of a more doubtful Reputation that he that never was accuſed. The greateſt Part of Mankind are tainted with Wickedneſs, and gratify their Pride, or their Envy, by crediting and ſpreading Reports which reduce others to a Level with themſelves. Every Man has his Enemies, whoſe particular Malevolence is too active to omit any Opportunity of deſtroying that Reputation which is, perhaps, brighter than their own. And thoſe who are without any Partiality may be reaſonably excuſed, if they are inclined to diſtruſt him whoſe Integrity they find ſuſpected by others of equal Diſcernment with themſelves, and of whoſe Motives or Proofs they have no exact Knowledge.

'If this be the Condition of a Man who, on common Occaſions, is by any Accident or Negligence expoſed to the Suſpicion of Men not more regarded for their Wiſdom or their Virtue than himſelf, what muſt be the State of him whom the Legiſlature of his Country thinks the proper Object of publick Inquiry? How loudly will his Enemies exult? and how boldly will his Accuſers fortell his Condemnation? What Clamours will the artful Leaders of the People excite againſt him? and how widely will the Charge be ſpread among thoſe whom, perhaps, the Anſwer may never reach? It is not impoſſible, that many of thoſe whoſe Friendſhip he has merited by good Offices, who have hitherto adhered to him from their Opinion of his Virtue, may be bribed to attack him by the Proſpect of Popularity, or frightened into Deſertion by the Fear of falling with him; and that though he ſhould be at laſt acquitted by his Judges, he may ſuffer by his Trial alone the greateſt Evils that Condemnation can inflict, the Loſs of his Reputation and his Friends, and be left in Solitude and Infamy, without any Conſolation but that of Innocence.

'So formidable are the Penalties which a Parliamentary Inquiry may inflict, even upon the Man whoſe Conduct ſhall be found to deſerve no Cenſure; and ſo unhappy may Virtue be made by an unreaſonable Regard to Clamours without Evidence, and Rumours without an Author: And, I doubt not, therefore, but this Houſe will reject this Motion; unleſs ſome Proof is produced which may juſtify Suſpicion, or ſome Crimes are alledged worthy of the National Reſentment.

'In this Hope, Sir, I am confirmed by reflecting on the preſent Situation of the Affairs of our own Nation, and of thoſe round about us in whoſe Intereſts we are neceſſarily engaged.

gaged. When I enquire into our domeſtick Affairs, I ſee us engaged in War againſt a Nation formidable for the Extent of its Dominions, and for the Abundance of its Wealth; and yet more formidable for its Alliance with the moſt powerful Nation in the World, the ancient and implacable Enemy of the *Britiſh* Nation. I ſee the War, though not ignominiouſly unſucceſsful, yet far from having produced that Honour or thoſe Advantages which were expected from it, and very far from gratifying the People at whoſe Requeſt it was declared, and at whoſe Expence it is carried on; and therefore cannot but think, that it might be more worthy of the Parliament to enquire by what Meaſures *Spain* may be humbled, our Navigation protected, our Loſſes repaired, and our Commerce re-eſtabliſhed; by what Means the Seas of the *Weſt Indies* may by opened to our Merchants, and our Colonies reſtored to Security, Plenty, and Happineſs, than how the Reſentment of a Party may be gratified, or how thoſe Writers who have been engaged by Malice, or by Want, to ſcatter Calumny and propagate Scurrility, may be ſecured from the Charge of having filled the Nation with falſe Alarms, and calumniated a Miniſtry by which the publick Advantage was ſteadily purſued. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'But, Sir, when I extend my Views to the other Nations of *Europe*, I diſcover ſtill more Exigencies that may juſtly engage all that Attention which can be ſpared from our own Affairs; I ſee the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the ancient Ally of this Nation, the Houſe by which the Equipoiſe of Power has been ſo long maintained, and by which the Liberties of *Europe* have been ſo long defended againſt the *Turks* on one Part and the *French* on the other, reduced not to the Brink of Ruin only, but to the Verge of Annihilation; and the Family of *Bourbon* giving Laws to all the Princes of the Empire, laying the World in Deſolation by its Armies, and creating new Dependencies by the Diſtribution of Dominions among thoſe who will be content to ſubmit to an univerſal Monarchy: I ſee all the Powers of *Europe*, under the Influence either of Infatuation or of Terror, connive at the Ravages of theſe Enemies of Mankind, and deſirous, not of oppoſing the Deluge of War, but of turning it from themſelves.

'Is this a Time of Leiſure and Amuſement, of private Proſecutions, and petty Animoſities? Is it not rather an Emergence which requires every Hand and every Tongue, in which every Man ought to be ambitious of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his Actions or his Counſels, and in which every Man who can attend to his own private Views, ought to be conſidered as a publick Enemy?

'For

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'For my Part, I oppoſe this Motion, as others profeſſedly defend it, upon the ſame Principles with the former; and am ſo far from thinking it neceſſary, that I think it neceſſary to reject it among other trifling Conſiderations, that we may be at Leiſure to reflect upon more momentous Queſtions, and examine without that Diſtraction which is produced by a Multitude of Objects, how the War againſt the King of *Spain* may be moſt ſucceſsfully proſecuted, and how the Houſe of *Auſtria* may be reſtored to its ancient Splendor, and exalted to its former Power, and the Liberties of Mankind may be once more preſerved from the Encroachments of *France*.

Sir *William Yonge* was anſwer'd by Mr *Pulteney*. *

Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

'Nothing is more uſual than for Men that have loſt their Reputation to complain of thoſe who expoſed them to the Contempt of Mankind, by confuting their Falſhoods, or detecting their Wickedneſs; no Criminal was ever heard to extol the Integrity of the Witneſſes by whoſe Teſtimony he was convicted. But Complaints and Murmurs are of little Efficacy when they are oppoſed to Evidence and Facts: When we ſee a Man always engaged in that Party which moſt liberally rewards its Adherents, and find him always receiving the Reward that is offered for his Service, it is to little Purpoſe that he declares, with whatever Aſſeverations, that he acts only in Conſequence of his own Conviction, and that his Salary has no Influence on his Conduct.

'The Adherents to the late Miniſter have ſurely very little Reaſon to complain that Mankind are inclined to vilify and reproach them; ſince it is well known, that it was one of the Principles avowed among thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their Fidelity to him, that Praiſe and Infamy were empty Sounds, by which thoſe might, indeed, be affected whom Experience had not enlightened, or who had never received Inſtructions from the Veterans of a Court, but to which very little Regard was to be expected from Men who had learn'd the Value of Money, and had been taught, that Profit, immediate pecuniary Profit, was the only Motive that puſhed forward the Buſineſs of the World, and by which every Man ought to be directed, who would exempt himſelf from the Reproach of Ignorance and Folly.

'I

* This Gentleman was abſent when the Firſt Motion was over-rul'd by two Voices, his only Daughter dying that very Day, as was alſo Mr. Sandys, (who voted For This Inquiry) he being then gone to Worceſter to be re-elected after Accepting the Poſt of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

'I believe, Sir, the Time is generally remembered in which those who complain of Clamour and Invectives, endeavoured to turn the Torrent of Ridicule upon their Adverſaries, when their great Leader himſelf employed his adored Abilities to make the Name of Patriot contemptible, and when they puſhed their Raillery with all the Alacrity of Succeſs, and all the Spirit of Security. The Time is not yet forgotten when to be independent was the Subject of Reproach, and when a Courtier, in the Height of his Exultation, called out in this Houſe to his Brother Placemen *to be true to one another**. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'This Time is, I hope, now at an End: The Placemen at leaſt have now ceaſed to boaſt of their Slavery, they have found, that their Abilities were not able to ſupport them in the Opinion of the Nation againſt the Force of Truth, and that the Splendor of Equipages, and the Profuſion of Wealth have not been ſufficient to preſerve either the Eſteem or Affection of the People: They find themſelves now reduced from Inſults to Complaints, they find their whole Eſtabliſhment endanger'd, and call upon each other, though in a much lower Voice, to be faithful to the common Intereſt, and to join all their Hands for the Support of the tottering Fabrick of Corruption.

'Of their Fidelity to their common Cauſe they have, indeed, given many Proofs, of which, however, there was never perhaps any which deſerved more Applauſe from their Maſter, than the Oppoſition which they made to the late Motion, and are now making to the preſent. On this Occaſion they diſcover, indeed, how powerful is the Influence of a Penſion, and in what laborious and unpleaſing Taſks Avarice and Ambition will engage their Slaves; they diſpute when they have nothing to urge, and ſtruggle, though the whole Nation combines to overwhelm them.

'I have, indeed, been ſo long accuſtomed to their Effuſions of Zeal, and habituated to hear from them ſuch daring Aſſertions, that I am ſurpriſed when any Poſition is admitted by them, which it is their Intereſt to deny; and therefore cannot but acknowledge my Aſtoniſhment, that no Champion of Corruption has been yet ſufficiently hardened, by the long Poſſeſſion of a Place of Profit, to call into Queſtion the Right claimed by the Parliament of enquiring into the Conduct of the Miniſters of the Crown.

'It has not, indeed, been ever aſſerted, that this Privilege was either uſurped unjuſtly by the ancient Parliaments, or that it has on any Occaſion been abrogated: But it is at length diſcovered by that Acuteneſs which a lucrative Employment generally produces, that it ought never to be exerted,

* See the Speech hinted at, Anno 1737-8. p. 81.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

ed, at leaſt that it ought to lie dormant till the Nation is on the Brink of Ruin; a Time which thoſe will never find, to whoſe Folly or Wickedneſs the Calamities of the Publick are to be imputed.

'It is alledged likewiſe, Sir, that the Crimes, for the Puniſhment of which a Parliamentary Inquiry is demanded, ought to be ſuch as threaten the publick Security, and ſuch as cannot be ſuffered to eſcape uncenſured without inciting others to the ſame Practices.

'This is a Specimen of that unlucky Eloquence by which a bad Cauſe is often injured when it is intended to be ſupported; it is no pleaſing Situation to be obliged to ſpeak when there is nothing to be ſaid; but this has been often the Misfortune of the late Miniſter and his Aſſociates, and the Event has been, that they have been able to produce nothing but what, like the Vindication now attempted, fell back upon themſelves.

'If it be a ſufficient Reaſon for a Parliamentary Inquiry, that Crimes are enormous and dangerous to the National Felicity, ſurely this is an Occaſion on which an Inquiry ought readily to be granted; for, what are the Crimes charged upon him whoſe Conduct is to be examined, but that he has given pernicious Counſel to the King, that he has employed the publick Money in publick Wickedneſs, that he has debauched the Morals of the People and endeavoured to corrupt the Parliament, that he has ſacrificed to private Views the Honour and Wealth of his Country, that he has obſtructed the Succeſs of our Arms, and neglected or betrayed the Rights of our Commerce.

'Such, Sir, are the Crimes with which he is now charged by the general Voice of the *Britiſh* People, a Charge which ſurely deſerves to be regarded, and to which a candid Attention will not diminiſh the Dignity which the Legiſlature ought to preſerve, or the Veneration which the People pay to its Decrees.

'It is, indeed, ſaid likewiſe, that the Crimes ought to be publick and undiſputed: But how an Inquiry can be neceſſary when the Offence is undiſputed, I am not able to diſcover; for when the Crime is proved, I know not what remains but to puniſh it, and ſhould move not for an Inquiry but an Impeachment.

'As unfortunately likewiſe has it been aſſerted, that ſuch Meaſures are only neceſſary when the publick Happineſs is in Danger; for when can our Danger be greater than when we are engaged in an unſucceſsful War? A War in which we are not overborn by the Power of an Enemy whoſe Forces are more

more numerous, or whoſe Treaſures are more affluent than our own, but by a State from which we expected no Reſiſtance; and againſt which it was imagined only neceſſary to declare War, that we might preſcribe Terms of Peace. When can we more juſtly have Recourſe to Inquiries than when we ſee the Trophies of our Armies deſtroyed, and the Profit of our Commerce diminiſhed, when we ſee Armies raiſed only for Show, and our Navies acting in Concert with thoſe whom they were in appearance ſent out to deſtroy; when we ſee that Family which has in all Ages endeavoured our Ruin, and which we ſo lately humbled at the Expence of Treaſures and of Forces by which half the World might have been conquered, again ſetting us at Defiance, again aſpiring to general Dominion, again invading the neighbouring Countries, and overwhelming the *German* Empire with a Storm of War. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'Surely when we are at once diſtreſſed within and threatned from without, when our Conſtitution is weakened by Corruption, our Trade invaded by a foreign Power, and our Allies ſinking before the Violence of Invaſion, when all the Nations of *Europe* are embarraſſed by our Miſconduct, when we find ourſelves inſulted by one Power, and forſaken by another, and are no longer courted, truſted, or feared, it is Time to inquire into the original Cauſe of ſuch complicated Miſery, and inflict ſome exemplary Puniſhment on that Man, whoſe Counſels have alienated our Allies, whoſe Treachery has aſſiſted our Enemies, and whoſe Corruption has debauch'd the Nation.

'In order to the Detection of Crimes, an Inquiry is neceſſary, and that there might be no Appearance of Partiality or Perſonal Malice in Proceedings intended only for the Reeſtabliſhment of the publick Happineſs, a general Inquiry was firſt propoſed which equally affected every Tranſaction of the laſt twenty Years, and every Perſon who during that Time had been entruſted with the Care of National Affairs: But this Propoſal, however equitable, however diſintereſted, and however rational, was oppoſed; the Oppoſition prevailed, and the Slaves of deſpotick Authority had one Opportunity more of boaſting to their Maſter of their Steadineſs, their Unanimity, and their Addreſs. No Expedient now remains by which we may hope to diſcover the publick Enemy, drag him out into the View of the People, and fix him as a Spectacle of Infamy to warn future Miniſters againſt the Pride of Power, and the Abuſe of Confidence, but an Examination of his Conduct to whom numberleſs Calamities are generally imputed. There is no Method of Examination which our

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741

Conſtitution has hitherto admitted, at once ſo candid and ſo efficacious, as the Appointment of a Secret Committee, which I, therefore, muſt for the Satisfaction of the People recommend, but from which I deſire to be excepted; becauſe I have, by ſome Expreſſions which broke from me in the Heat of Conteſt, and the Negligence of Paſſion, given Cauſe for Suſpicion, that I am engaged by perſonal Reſentment in an inceſſant Oppoſition to the Perſon to whom this Motion relates; and I ſuppoſe no Man will blame me for deſiring, when I do right, to be thought to do it upon right Motives.

Mr *Henry Fox* ſpoke next as follows:

Sir,

Mr Henry Fox.

'I am not only determined to oppoſe this Motion by the Reaſons for which I voted againſt the laſt; but by another which I am not aſhamed or afraid to avow, my perſonal Regard for him whoſe Conduct is to be the Subject of the Examination propoſed.

'As I have long known him, I have had more Opportunities of diſcovering his Deſigns, than the greateſt Part of thoſe who have ſo loudy cenſured him; and I am confident, that thoſe who are incited to cenſure him by true Zeal for their Country, and unfeigned Concern for the Intereſt of the Publick, only perſecute him becauſe they do not know him, and becauſe they have been deceived by falſe Repreſentations of his Morals, his Politicks and his Intentions; all which have been aſperſed with the greateſt Induſtry, and blackened with the utmoſt Addreſs of Malice and Ambition.

'That ſome of his Meaſures may have been erroneous, I will not deny; for my Veneration for his Abilities does not riſe to a Belief of his Infallibility: But if no Man, after having been ſo long entruſted with the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, is to eſcape Proſecutions and Impeachments, on any other Condition than that of having never failed in his Deſigns, we ſhall not eaſily find, even among the Patriots themſelves, however celebrated for their Wiſdom, and diſtinguiſh'd for their Confidence, any Man ſufficiently qualified to ſucceed this honourable Perſon in his Employments.

'That any of them will bring into the Council, either a greater Extent of Knowledge, Acuteneſs of Judgment, or Purity of Intention, I ſhall not eaſily believe, and am very far from thinking, that [illegible] one of thoſe who have ſo long harraſſed this no[illegible] with Invectives and Clamours will, if it ſho[illegible]une to be engaged in the ſame Province, be able to ſupport himſelf in it with equal Applauſe, or quit it with equal Safety.

'His

'His Conduct has, indeed, been such as ought to place him, not only out of Danger of Punishment, but out of the Reach of Suspicion, which, as has been already, with great Justice, asserted, is in itself a very heavy Penalty, though it be not followed by Condemnation. To a delicate and ingenuous Mind like that of the noble Person to whom this Motion relates, nothing can be more painful than to be thought capable of Guilt, such as that of which a Parliamentary Enquiry implies a Suspicion; and as, in my Opinion, his whole Conduct has been such as entitles him to Honours and Rewards, to Monuments and to Statues, I shall never consent, that the Tranquility of his Retirement should be interrupted by a Prosecution; or that those whose Artifices he has so often baffled, however subtle, and whose Arguments he has so often confuted, however specious, should have an Opportunity to revenge upon him in his Privacy the Defeats which they have received from him. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

Mr *Lyttelton* replied to the following Effect: Mr Lyttelton.

Sir,

'That there are Minds to which it would give no small Degree of Pain to be suspected of any enormous Wickedness, when I either examine my own Breast, or observe the Conduct of my Friends I am fully convinced; but should never have discovered, that human Nature was capable of such a Passion as the Fear of Suspicion, had I only obtained my Knowledge of Mankind from the Contemplation of the late Minister and his Associates.

'It is, indeed, a Degree of ministerial Effrontery at which every Man is not able to arrive, and at which those who know not by what Gradations it has been attained will look with Astonishment, for Men to speak and act for twenty Years in Opposition to the general Desires of the whole Nation, and often in open Defiance of their Petitions, Remonstrances and Menaces; to hear themselves every Day, without Fear and without Confutation, censured as the Violators of the Constitution, the Plunderers of the publick Treasury, the Corruptors of the Parliament, and the Betrayers of their Country; and to see them while they enjoyed the Reward of their Practices, hug themselves amidst the Hisses of Mankind, and hear their Names mentioned in the most opprobious Language, without Shame and without Anger; and yet when their Schemes are in question, when they imagine, that they shall have no Solace in their Infamy, pretend to startle at Danger to their Reputation, and not only to abhor Guilt, but to be afraid of Suspicion.

'If

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'If the noble Perſon to whom this Enquiry relates is, in reality, ſtudious of Reputation, he has hitherto been very unfortunate in the Method by which he has endeavoured to acquire it; for perhaps, no Nation of the Earth can ſhow a Man ſo univerſally abhorred, a Man on whom the general Execrations of human Kind have been ſo openly diſcharged.

'Yet this, Sir, is the Man whom his Adherents would now ſcreen from the Malignity of Suſpicion, whoſe Mind is too delicate to bear the Reproach of an Enquiry. I doubt not, indeed, but Detection will now affect him in a different manner than when he ſtood in this Houſe with his Hirelings about him, haranguing on the Benefits of an Exciſe, and the Expedience of the Convention, when he ſupported the Farce of a Debate in the Preſence of Wretches who had ſold him their Votes, without hearing his Arguments, and who were equally prepared to approve contrary Meaſures, if they had diſcovered that he had changed his Inclination.

'But though he may yet be ſuſceptible of Terror, I am very far from imagining, that he can feel Shame; and, therefore, think it unneceſſary to prove what every Man knows, that if Suſpicion gave him any Pain he would ſolicite what the moſt Ardent of his Advocates are now endeavouring to avert.

'He has, indeed, leſs to fear from an Enquiry than any of his Predeceſſors ſince they have generally endeavoured to engage their Party by ſpecious Appearances of publick Advantage; but he has truſted only to the Power of Money. It is, therefore, urged with very little Propriety, that his Friends will forſake him on this Occaſion, for though Danger may, indeed, ſeparate thoſe whom only Intereſt has united, it cannot be conceived, that the Dread of Infamy, can deprive that Man of his Adherents whom it has for ſo many Years been infamous to ſupport.

'It is now, Sir, in my Opinion, neceſſary to comply with the general Petition of the People, to ſhow that our Conſtitution, however ſhaken by the long continued Attacks of a deſpotic Miniſter, is not wholly deſtroyed; and that Guilt, however proſperous, is not able to bid Defiance to the Laws. It is expedient to lay open to the King and the Nation the Sources of our preſent Calamities, by our Approbation of the Motion before us.

The Queſtion was then put, and carried in the Affirmative by ſeven Voices.

FINIS.

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